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THE UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA

SPORT AND TELEVISION IN CANADA: 1952 TO 1982

BY

SUSAN MARIE NATTRASS

A THESIS

SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES AND
RESEARCH IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS
FOR THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

DEPARTMENT OF PHYSICAL EDUCATION AND SPORT STUDIES

EDMONTON, ALBERTA

SPRING, 1988

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FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES AND RESEARCH

The undersigned certify that they have read, and recommend to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research for acceptance, a thesis entitled Sport and Television in Canada: 1952 to 1982 submitted by Susan M. Nattrass in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Physical Education and Sport Studies.

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(Supervisor)

Gerald Redmond ....

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J. T. Chandler ....
(External Examiner)

Date: December 22, 1987 ....

DEDICATION

In memory of my grandmother, Florence C. McDonnell, whose determination, love of life, faith in God and commitment to learning inspired me to always strive for the highest possible ideals and achievements.

ABSTRACT

The purpose of this study was to explore, describe and explain the nature of the relationships that developed between sport bodies of Canada, both professional and some amateur, the television medium, and advertisers/sponsors during the emergence of national television from 1952 to 1982--the first thirty years of Canadian television. This study was comprised of a three part structure: the documentation of the historical developments of the interplay between sport (from a general and a selected sport-specific perspective), the two major Canadian television networks (the CBC and CTV) and advertisers/sponsors (major ones such as Imperial Oil, Imperial Tobacco and the three Canadian breweries--Carling O'Keefe, Molson, Labatt); an examination of the dynamic interplay and dimensions involved in this relationship; and an analysis of the relationships among the three groups to determine whether the relationships were symbiotic in nature.

In order to examine and assess the nature of the relationships two major methodologies were employed. Primary and secondary sources provided historical documentation on both television and sport. Government documents, annual reports of a range of organizations and the CBC and Royal Commission Reports provided a substantive framework to which was added information from numerous secondary sources. Finally, a rich data source for this study proved to be the forty focused interviews conducted with leading Canadian authorities in telecommunication and sport.

Findings generally provided support for the hypothesis that the relationship(s) among sport, television and advertisers/sponsors was of a symbiotic or interdependent nature and dynamic. It changed with time and as a consequence of actions taken on the part of one or more of the three

entities and was done primarily to attract a larger audience. The relationship(s) among the three partners was important and all had benefited in some way, mainly financial or from increased awareness and exposure. Sport benefited from television exposure to national and international audiences and the revenue received for television rights but sport also changed rules, schedules and presentation formats to meet the changing needs of its partners. Television gained substantive advantages: sports programming enabled the Canadian networks to meet Canadian content requirements; it attracted large audiences and therefore advertisers/sponsors; it was comparatively inexpensive and easy to produce or purchase; and it was a fairly substantial money-maker. The third party in the triumvirate, the advertisers/sponsors, also benefited from the relationship in that sports programs attracted large audiences, added a prestige value in advertising on certain sport telecasts or in being associated with a particular sport and, most important, delivered audiences with the "right" demographics and was cost efficient. The triumvirate of sport, television and the advertiser/sponsor formed relationships among each other which appeared both symbiotic and self-perpetuating.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Although sport has always been a significant part of Western culture as revealed throughout history, art, literature, chronicles and other written documentation, in the four decades since 1950 it has become a pervasive aspect of life to many North Americans who have become involved in sport as either participants or spectators. As spectators they may have watched the competition either in person at the sporting venue or on television. Since the inception of television greater numbers of people have become involved in sports. This phenomenon requires examination, specifically the relationship between sport and television in Canada.

As a result of this relationship changes in both sport and television have occurred. Johnson recognized this when he stated: "Quite simply, [in the United States] it has come to this: the impact of television in the past ten years has produced more revolutionary--and irrevocable--changes in sports than any other force since men began playing organized games" (1976:26). An internationally recognized communications expert, Canadian Marshall McLuhan, recognized the importance of the various communications media when he said that "the medium is the message" and that television "has affected the totality of our lives, personal and social and political" (1964:23). McLuhan's main point was that the relationship between the medium and the message was an interactive one. This meant the medium not only conveyed but shaped the message. For example, television (the medium) shapes the football game (the message) by carefully selecting the shots and camera angles it will present to viewers. Another way in which television affects sport was demonstrated by the fact that sports have changed rules and procedures to accommodate the needs of television. Some examples of changes were a new scoring system in tennis to enable matches to be completed within predetermined time periods, a shift from match to medal or stroke play in golf, and an inclusion of contrived time-outs in some sports for the purpose of presenting commercials. The sport message also affected the medium of television because in order to telecast sporting events television advanced its technology in such areas as instant replays, slow motion, and camera equipment to provide better and more entertaining coverage of sports events. The whole presentation of a major sport event via the technical, sophisticated and artistically orchestrated television medium has made it more appealing for spectators to view an event from the comfort of their homes.

The wedding of sport and television produced some impressive statistics and results. In 1972 more than 16 million Canadian viewers watched the final hockey game in the Canada-U.S.S.R. series--4 million more than watched the first moon landing as reported in Time Magazine (1972). During the Canada-U.S.S.R. series business came to a virtual halt, children watched the game on television either at home or in their classrooms and across the country streets were empty as people watched "the" game. Wise and Fisher referred to the final game and its importance in Canada's development as a nation with an identity as "A kind of pinnacle of national consciousness was reached; being a nation in Canadian terms, may not only consist of doing things together but watching hockey together" (1974:307). The sport viewership world-wide was also impressive. In 1976, over 1 billion people world-wide viewed the Summer Olympic Games (CBC, 1978); it was estimated that over 800 million viewers throughout the world watched the World Cup football championship in 1978 (Loy, McPherson and Kenyon, 1978); and it was reported that more than 2 billion viewers, almost half the world's population, watched each of the 1980 and 1984 Summer Olympics held in Moscow and Los Angeles respectively (Lucas, Real and Mechikoff, 1986).

But impressive statistics were not isolated to viewership numbers. Time, effort and dollars exchanged have reached staggering proportions. Consider, for example, the $15.6 million contract for television rights signed in 1980 between the Canadian Football League (CFL) and Carling O'Keefe Breweries of Canada Ltd. for the rights to televise the three seasons from 1981 to 1983 inclusive. On an international scale, for the 1976 Montreal Olympics the American Broadcasting Company (ABC) network paid the Olympic organizing committee $25 million for the United States broadcasting rights for the Games. As large as this sum may have seemed ABC managed to "break even" in its Olympic budget because big corporations such as Sears department stores, Schlitz brewery and Chevrolet car manufacturers paid $72,000 a minute for prime time advertising (Stewart and Crawford, 1978:48). ABC recently agreed to pay a record $309 million for the United States television rights for the 1988 Winter Olympics in Calgary.

Major North American television networks have paid such large sums of money for the rights to broadcast sporting events because their studies indicate that sport programs have been attracting an increasing number of viewers and have contributed to better ratings. ABC program director Tom Moore stated, ". . . sports is what television was born to do best. There's no drama we can do on stage that will match the drama on the ball field" (Hart, 1972:378). Observers of sport in contemporary society agreed, believing that there had been an increase in sport interest due to television coverage:

> In the past ten years sport in America has come to be the stepchild of television. . . . In the very time of its ascendancy - sport finds its greatest benefactor is electronic technology (Johnson, 1971:25).

> The most spectacular rise of sport as mass entertainment, a post-World War II development, has been largely the product of still another medium, television (Talamini and Page, 1973:417).

> . . . although sports interests certainly existed prior to television, this particular mass media has had the most dramatic effect on the sportsmania of today, and television is a phenomena of the past twenty years (Sage, 1974:11).

In 1977, the CBC celebrated its twenty fifth anniversary of television broadcasting--a time of both reflection and projection. A "CBC Television Sports Brief," written January 24, 1978, examined the relationship between sport coverage and television viewing. Some conclusions were that major sports events were extremely popular, generated a great deal of revenue and were comparatively inexpensive to produce or acquire. One concern which was expressed by program directors and other television executives was the disrupting and unbalancing effect television sports often had on overall programming schedules. The facts and figures showed that although the "glamour" sports, particularly professional hockey, football and baseball continued to draw large audiences, their popularity was decreasing somewhat. The brief concluded by questioning the issue of how much sports programming on television would be enough and how much would be too much.

The CBC was not the only organization questioning the relationship between sport and television. Several sports' governing bodies were concerned with the coverage of their sports on television. Further, researchers have been questioning and examining the relationship between sport and television. These people were not only seeking answers to the concerns raised in the CBC Brief they were also attempting to develop a clearer understanding of the relationship between sport and television, the seemingly interdependent growth of sport and television, and the effects of this probable growth on these two social institutions.

Only in the last ten to fifteen years had researchers and writers begun to examine it. A review of the literature on the development (or history) of sport and television revealed that little had been written of a historical nature. Six authors (Johnson, 1971; Parente, 1974; Sugar, 1978, Patton, 1984; Powers, 1984; Rader, 1984) have examined various aspects of this development in the United States but, so far, very little literature had been found that dealt with Canada. In one of the first studies of sport and television, Super Spectator and the Electric Lilliputians, Johnson provided many insights into the events which have led to an interdependency between professional sport and the three major American networks. He examined the impact the networks have had on professional sports, the roles played by the networks, advertisers and sport administrators, and the increasing importance of the dollar to all concerned. He was highly critical of television's influence on and control of sport but as he acknowledged:

> Perhaps the judgment is too harsh. For we must ask many questions before we can hope to approach the truth of our world as it exists in the Seventies. The impact of television has catapulted sport into a golden era, true enough. At the same time it has created a direct life and death dependence on the dollars of American commerce. This is a critical relationship. For major league sport has now sold itself beyond the capacity to control its own destiny (1971:236).

The relationship between sport and television was construed by some other writers who borrowed a biological term and described the relationship as symbiotic in nature because of the intimate and mutually beneficial interdependency (Parente, 1974; Michener, 1976; Smith and Blackman, 1978). They contend that sport had become dependent upon television for financial support and free publicity, while television had become dependent upon sports to fulfill many of its programming needs. Parente's A History of Television and Sports concentrated on the growth of a complex, symbiotic relationship between organized, professional and quasi-professional sports; the media of communication; and the American business system. One important feature of Parente's study was that he examined both the influence of television on sport and the influence of sport programming on television and ultimately showing how both sport and television had become a part of the advertising industry. Michener (1976) and Smith and Blackman (1978) agreed with Parente's thesis. Lucas, Real and Mechikoff (1986) used Parente's criteria to examine the relationship between the participants of Olympic television coverage and concluded that that relationship was a symbiotic one.

The relationship between sport and television had come under examination within the sociology of sport area. Smith and Blackman's monograph, Sport in the Mass Media, provided a good overview of the "state of the art" with regard to sport and the mass media research:

> There are very few empirical studies which have tested mass communication theories. Most of work that has been done has been descriptive; that is assessments have been made of respondents' frequency of mass media use of sports information. Much of the remaining available material consists of "arm chair" pieces, though, while thought provoking they provide no hard data to support their theorizing (1978:4).

Since then researchers in a variety of fields, including communications, history and sociology of sport, have focused on the subject. The July 1983 issue of Arena was devoted entirely to research and general interest articles on sport and the media. During the 1980s research had been done on the relationship between the Olympic Games and mass media, including television (Tomlinson and Whannel, 1984; Alaszkiewicz, 1986; Real, 1986). Real (1986) compiled and edited a UNESCO report entitled Global Ritual: Olympic Media Coverage and International Understanding and included information on the relationship between television and some countries' coverage of the Olympic Games. Unfortunately, Canada was not mentioned although each continent was represented in the report.

Researchers in the area of sport and media had generally examined: (i) the effect or impact television had on a specific sport today; (ii) the degree of sport involvement of consumers; (iii) one element of the mass media, for example, the sport journalism social system; or (iv) the history of sport (or a specific sport) and television in the United States. Many studies examined the degree of primary and secondary involvement by the mass population (Kenyon, 1966; McPherson, 1972, 1975; Birrell and Loy, 1974; Smith, 1974). Generally, by far the greatest involvement in sport occurred indirectly (secondary involvement) through television, radio, books and magazines by males under thirty, who were middle class urban dwellers with some exposure to higher education (Loy, McPherson and Kenyon, 1978). Other studies (Birrell and Loy, 1977) used the individual differences theory of mass communication in a sports context and proposed that media sport had four functions: (1) a cognitive or information function which provided knowledge of the game, the results and statistics; (2) an integrative function which provided affiliation with a social group and a group experience with spectators; (3) an arousal function which provided an emotional experience and excitement; and (4) an escapist function which provided the release of tension and pent-up emotions. Birrell and Loy suggested that the forms of secondary involvement selected are based on the individual's perceived need:

> . . . a predisposition toward information will lead to "hot media" involvement (McLuhan, 1964) in books, newspapers, and films where there is low participation by the audience. On the other hand, integrative and arousal predispositions will incline the individual toward "cool media" consumption (eg., direct attendance at events, television, and radio) where there is higher sensory involvement (Loy, McPherson and Kenyon, 1978:307).

Studies which had examined the influence or effect of television on sport were few (Furst, 1972; Altheide and Snow, 1977; Amdur, 1978; Patton, 1984) and, with respect to Canada, were non-existent. The need to study the interplay between these two social institutions was both timely and necessary.

What became apparent through reviewing the literature was that there was a paucity of research dealing with the nature of the relationship between sports and television in Canada, be it symbiotic or dependent. More specifically, the way in which the relationship between sport and television developed in Canada was largely unknown but an interest had been generated in this area to determine whether or not it was symbiotic in nature.

A. Statement of the Problem

The problem under examination was to explore, describe and explain the nature of the relationships that developed between the major professional and some amateur sport organizations in Canada and the television medium during the emergence of national television in 1952 and 1982--the first thirty years of Canadian television. The assessment and analysis focused on the two key dimensions of sport and televison; but, of necessity, it also included the third dimension of sponsorship and advertising. The investigation centred on the ways in which the relationships evolved and changed in the thirty year period and the factors which caused the changes to occur. The investigation included studying the changes and adaptations various sports made in terms of rules, schedules, and presentation to meet the needs of television and/or advertisers/sponsors. In addition, the changes and adaptations made to television and its technology to accommodate certain sports or to respond to demands for better coverage were probed. Although the major focus was on the development of sport and television, it was necessary to review the same relationships within the context of television's predecessor, radio, for a variety of reasons. One reason was that the pattern established among radio, sport and advertisers/sponsors in Canada continued, for awhile, with television.

There had been little investigation in Canada regarding the development of the relationships among Canadian sports, television and advertisers/sponsors although some research had been done in the United States by Parente. In addition, little had been researched regarding the variety and types of relationships which had evolved since the three had been working together to present a product for viewers. This study investigated the factors which generated the changes that took place in the relationships, and an attempt was made to assess the responses of the other partner(s) to these change(s). Parente described these relationships in the United States as symbiotic in nature. This study investigated whether or not his thesis was valid in the context of the development of the tripartite relationships among sport, television, and advertisers/sponsors in Canada. The major factor which was examined was change. Change within the relationship was measured by the priorities assigned to sport programming by television and advertisers/sponsors and the impact they had on fluctuations in hours of programming, the amount(s) paid for rights, the audience size, and the experience of the professionals in the relationship.

B. Definition of Terms

For the purpose of this study the following terms were defined:

Advertiser:	A company or organization which wants to promote a service, product or an idea and tries to accomplish this by influencing, informing or persuading people through buying commercial time on television (Ungerleider and Kreiger, 1985).
Content Analysis:	A provisional investigation of a situation or area of study in order to become totally acquainted with the subject matter. This leads to the formation of an interview guide or research model which contains the major areas of inquiry and determines the criteria for the collection of relevant information (Short and Innes, 1972)
Dependent:	An organization or institution which relies on another for support or help, or is controlled or influenced by something else (Gage, 1983:317).
Focused Interview:	A type of research interview which has the following distinctive characteristics: the interviewees have been involved in a particular situation; the interviewer has conducted a content analysis and formed an interview guide which contains the major areas of inquiry and the criteria for the collection of relevant information; and the interview focuses on the subjective experiences of the interviewee in order to ascertain his/her personal definition of the situation.

(Short and Innes, 1972).

Independent:	An organization or institution which is not needing, wanting, or getting help from others; not connected with others; not depending on others; not resulting from another thing; not controlled or influenced by something else; separate; distinct (Gage, 1983:592).
Interdependent:	Organizations or institutions which are dependent each upon the other (Gage, 1983:608).
Mass communication:	Simultaneous (or nearly so) process--essentially one-way communication from a single source addressed to a mass audience (Sterling and Kittross, 1978:492).
Mass media:	A set of technological devices whose function is to transmit messages to a mass audience in such a way that they all get the message at virtually the same time. . . . the mass media will include television, radio, newspapers and some magazines (Smith, 1974:107).
Network:	Two or more stations, often broadcasting stations, interconnected by some means, or associated for the often simultaneous transmission of the same messages or programs. . . . a network generally consists of the program-producing and central administering organization, a small number of owned-and-operated (O & O) stations, and a greater number of independently owned but affiliated stations (Sterling and Kittross, 1978:494).
Sponsor:	An advertiser who pays for the entire production of a program in which only his or her goods or services are advertised (Ungerleider and Krieger, 1985:239).
Sport:	Sport is defined as involving activities having formally recorded histories and traditions, stressing physical exertion through competition within limits set in explicit and formal rules governing role and position relationships, and carried out by actors who represent or who are part of formally organized associations

	having the goal of achieving valued tangibles or intangibles through defeating opposing groups (Edwards, 1973:57-58).
Symbiosis:	A mutual interdependent relationship between two essentially dissimilar entities (Parente, 1974). In this study the entities are sport, television and advertisers/sponsors.
Television:	A telecommunication system for the transmission of transient images of fixed or moving objects; also the broadcast service of the same name, which includes both the picture and the accompanying sound (Sterling and Kittross, 1978:500).

C. Justification of the Study

What little had been written about sport and television in Canada in histories of sport or physical education generally consisted of a brief summary or reference. For example, in Howell and Howell's Sports and Games in Canadian Life, although the authors wrote that ". . . since the late 1940s the influence of television on Canada's sports life has been of major importance" (1969:148) they devoted only three paragraphs to this topic. Wise and Fisher (1974) included a chapter on the history of sport journalism in Canada and discussed the impact of the electronic media upon sports journalism and sport in general. For them "the jury is still out on what the long term impact of television will be upon sport. This unchained monster raises both hope and apprehension in the hearts of sports promoters and administrators" (1974:306).

Within the field of mass communication there were detailed histories of the development of broadcasting in Canada (Weir, 1965; Peers, 1969,1979; CBC, 1976; Rutherford, 1978) but there was hardly any mention of broadcasting of sport within the industry. Peers (1979) discussed the "Grey Cup Fiasco" of 1962 which involved the CBC, CTV, and the CFL from the perspective of the Board of Broadcast Governors' decision to intervene but did not examine the relationship between the two networks and the CFL. MacKay, in The CBC and The Public, discussed management style and decision making within the corporation but did not have enough examples of these relating to sport to include it in his index. Stewart, in Here's Looking at Us: A Personal History of Television in Canada, had a chapter on sports which largely consisted of his personal recollections and included numerous photographs of people and technology. Hardin's Closed Circuits: The Sellout of Canadian Television discussed the use of sport on television by Canadian networks to meet Canadian content regulations as had been stipulated by the Canadian Radio Television Commission (CRTC). Dixon (1984) was one of the first researchers to examine the relationship between sport and television in Canada but limited her Master's thesis to an examination of the relationship between the CBC and sport in Canada from 1936 to 1982. Most of the references from the CBC Annual Reports usually presented a very brief description of what sports programs were included in the total year's programming schedule.

The above represented the literature available on television in Canada or the relationship between sport and television in Canada. To the present those studies which have been written about this relationship have been mainly limited to one network, the CBC, and the changes which both sport and the CBC have gone through as a result of the relationship. Both CTV and Global networks have received little study although CTV had been a major component of the relationship between sport and television in Canada since the network's inception. There have been some discussions about how television had influenced and changed sport but little mention of how sport had influenced and changed television for all networks in Canada. This latter aspect was examined here because it was seen as being just as important as the former.

Both sport and television were important forces in Canadian society and their relationship warranted study. Networks were spending increasing amounts of money to produce and cover more sporting events. Moreover, television had shaped the nature of sporting patterns in Canada. Thus, to better understand sport in Canadian society outside influences such as television should be analyzed. Criticism had been leveled at television with respect to its impact on various sports; therefore, there was a need to find out more about television and the changes it promoted.

Only through a full study and analysis of all available sources, such as reports, correspondence, interviews, collections of memorabilia, newspapers, and existing government records could a comprehensive history of sport and television in Canada be written. Speculation about the future of sports programming on television in Canada was then feasible.

D. Delimitations of the Study

1. The time period examined was 1952 to 1982--"The First Thirty Years." The first television telecast in Canada was in 1952 in Montreal and Toronto. However, appropriate background information prior to 1952 was included to establish the setting.

2. For this study television was restricted to network television productions of the CBC and CTV, and thus did not include local television

productions. The study also included the Canadian Sports Network (CSN) since it produced "Hockey Night in Canada."

3. The study examined mainly professional sports in Canada and the major international sporting events and championships which occurred in Canada--the 1954 British Empire Games, the 1967 Pan American Games, the 1976 Olympic Games, the 1978 Commonwealth Games, and selected world championships.

4. While it is recognized that the United States is a large and powerful neighbour which has greatly influenced Canadian television, sport and advertising, only Canadian networks, sports organizations and sponsors/advertisers were included in this study, which sought to examine only Canadian television sports programming.

E. Limitations of the Study

1. The chief limitation to the study was the absence of complete records for the CBC, CTV, the professional sports involved, and the major international sporting festivals.

2. Some of the individuals who were closely involved with television and/or sport are now deceased, retired, or have moved away and information on their whereabouts was either too difficult to obtain or nonexistent.

3. The investigator relied heavily upon the data obtained from the interviews whose accuracy was limited to the recall of the individuals interviewed. Cross-checking was done with either written evidence or other interviews to verify information.

4. The expense of traveling to various cities across Canada to interview important individuals and to examine documents coupled with the

time involved for such undertakings were also limiting factors with respect to the study. Every effort was made to interview in person or contact by telephone all key resource people in the field of sport and television.

F. Methods and Procedures

The research for this study was carried out by using three main sources of information:

1. Secondary sources included books, periodicals, and articles. Numerous studies on sport and television were examined fully; books and periodicals dealing with television and the mass media in Canada were reviewed in order to provide background information about the development of television in Canada. To provide a background for the development of sports in Canada various books and articles on the history of sport were also reviewed.

2. Primary sources included government documents, annual reports, individuals' and corporations' files and records. The CBC Resource Library in Toronto was an important source of documents and reports. Documents such as the Canadian government's reports and investigations on mass media in Canada, the Davey Commission's Reports and the Canadian Radio-television and Telecommunications Commission (CRTC) publications and the annual reports of the CBC, the CFL and other organizations involved were examined fully. The investigator had access to and examined the files, records and speeches of key individuals and organizations.

3. Interviews were conducted with individuals closely associated with sport and television in Canada. The recollections of these individuals, plus any materials that they had collected and saved were of inestimable value,

especially since many of them detailed aspects that were not fully described in public reports and publications. An example of the interview guide and an explanation of the interviewee selection process can be found in Appendix A. Key individuals who were interviewed were listed alphabetically by affiliation with the organization with which they are/were associated (an individual's position is listed in the Bibliography):

Canadian Broadcasting Corporation (CBC):	Ernie Afaganis, Jacques Berube, Don Chevrier, Yvon Giguere, Don Goodwin, Peter Herrndorf, Fred Jones, Don MacPherson, Dennis O'Neill, George Retzlaff, Ted Reynolds, Bill Sheehan, and Jim Thompson
Canadian Football League (CFL):	Mike DeGroote, Bill Fry, Jake Gaudaur, and Doug Mitchell
Canadian Sport Network (CSN) (and "Hockey Night in Canada"):	Ted Hough, Dick Irvin, Ralph Mellanby, and Frank Selke Jr.
CTV:	John F. Bassett Sr., Murray Chercover, Johnny Esaw, and Glenn Wert
Carling O'Keefe Breweries of Canada:	Bill Bourne
Houston Group:	Stan Houston
Imperial Oil:	Don Twaits
Labatt Brewing Company Limited (Labatt):	John Hudson
MacLaren Advertising:	Hugh Horler
Molson Breweries Limited of Canada (Molson):	Hollis Brace, Senator Hartland Molson

National Hockey League (NHL):	Scotty Morrison, Joel Nixon
Toronto Blue Jays:	Paul Beaston
The Sports Network (TSN):	Gordon Craig
Other:	Douglas Fisher

The Interview as a Method of Research

The investigator chose an interview method as one of the two primary methods of data collection because the information which the interviewees provided was unavailable in published form. In addition, virtually the only way to obtain the data for the study was through interviewing individuals who were important in sport and television in Canada. The richness provided by the interview information could not have been gathered through a questionnaire. Kerlinger, in Foundations of Behavioral Research, defended the interview as a research method.

> The interview is probably man's oldest and most often used device for obtaining information. It has important qualities that objective tests and scales and behavioral observations do not possess. When used with a well-conceived schedule, an interview can obtain a great deal of information, is flexible and adaptable to individual situations, and can often be used when no other method is possible or adequate. An interviewer can know whether the respondent does not understand a question and can, within limits, repeat or rephrase the question. . . . Most important, perhaps, the interview permits probing into the context and reasons for answers to questions (1973:480).

The interview has been used by researchers in the social sciences to obtain data for describing and testing the phenomena of interest to them. Attempts have been made to state the rationale and technique for constructing interview schedules and conducting interviews in the context of social research (Maccoby and Maccoby, 1954; Merton, Fiske and Kendall, 1956; Kahn and Cannell, 1957; Richardson, Dohrenwend and Klein, 1965). Within the context of social research the research interview has been defined as "a two-person conversation, initiated by the interviewer for the specific purpose of obtaining research relevant information, and focused by him on content specified by research objectives of systematic description, prediction, or explanation" (Cannell and Kahn, 1968:527).

In 1946 Merton and Kendall developed a type of research interview called the focused interview. The distinctive characteristics of the focused interview are:

> 1. The interviewees are known to have been involved in a particular situation (member of an organization, etc.).
> 2. The investigator has provisionally analysed the situation (content analysis) and developed working hypotheses regarding the various events of the situation.
> 3. The content analysis leads to the formation of an interview guide or research model which contains the major areas of inquiry and which also determines the criteria for the collection of relevant information.
> 4. The interview focuses on the subjective experiences of the interviewee in order to ascertain his personal definition of the situation (Short and Innes, 1972:233).

In a later study, Merton, Fiske and Kendall (1956) found that effective focused interviews satisfied the criteria of range, specificity, depth and personal context. They were defined as follows:

1. Range	Range referred to extent of relevant interview data. Adequacy of range was gauged by the degree to which data (i) exemplified types of responses anticipated on the basis of prior analysis of stimulus situation; (ii) suggested interrelations between responses;

(iii) identified unanticipated responses.

2. Specificity.	The focused interview inquired into specific meanings of significant details to identify effective stimuli patterns. Specification required the subject to designate significant aspects of the stimulus situation and to link particular responses to these.
3. Depth.	Depth referred to self-revelatory reports of how stimulus situation was experienced. Depth responses enabled the interviewer to determine the degree of detachment or personal involvement in the experience, and the peripheral or salient character of responses.
4. Personal context.	Criterion of personal context were met by uncovering experiences and statuses which helped to explain the distinctive definitions of stimulus situation.

Merton, Fiske and Kendall (1956) maintained that the criteria were interrelated and the interviewer had to develop the practice of continuously using the different dimensions of the criteria to assess the interview.

Convinced that the focused interview would provide the best information on sport and television in Canada the investigator chose this method of research, because it would provide informant specific insights into the nature of and shifts in the relationships between and among the various elements in the triumvirate of sport, television, and advertisers/sponsors.

Methodological Procedures

Merton, Fiske and Kendall (1956); Cannell and Kahn (1968); and Short and Innes (1972) provided accounts of the methodological procedures which they thought were important in conducting research using the focused interview. This investigation utilized a combination of those techniques which were the most useful and appropriate. The procedural framework of this study included the following steps:

1. A content analysis was conducted on the available information dealing with sport and television.

2. An interview guide or schedule (set of basic questions, statements, pictures, or other stimuli to evoke responses) was formulated and a set of rules or procedures for using the schedule was developed.

3. Subjects to be interviewed were selected based on the fact that the individual was or had been involved in sport and/or television (including advertisers or sponsors). Individuals were contacted either in person or by phone.

4. A focused interview was conducted using the general open-ended questions in the interview guide or research model. Accommodation was made during the interview for the interviewee to suggest other possible subjects. An evaluation of the interview was on-going and the interviewer assessed the interview technique, the responses received and was aware of and dealt with any problems which developed during the interview.

5. Tapes of the interviews were transcribed.

6. An "information retrieval system" was established so the investigator had access to all the information collected.

Format of the Study

The remainder of this dissertation consists of an additional five chapters. Chapter II traces the development of sports and broadcasting from the beginning of radio to the expansion of the television network across Canada in the late 1950s. It describes the initial visions of men involved in early radio stations and their programming and the involvement of the federal government in this new communications medium. It emphasizes these visions and involvements as they relate to the invention and early development and expansion of Canadian television.

Chapter III continues to trace the growth and expansion of Canadian television and sport in the 1960s. It includes information on the establishment of Canada's second network, CTV, and its influence on sports programming on Canadian television. Television's coverage of various sports during the decade is detailed. The chapter concludes with a description of the changes and developments that sport and television have wrought on each other.

Chapter IV deals with the changing nature of sport and television in the 1970s and 1980s. For television new technologies, increased popularity and programming as they relate to sports are traced. For sport increased income, rule changes, expansion of schedules and presentation of the product as they relate to television are documented. The role of advertisers/sponsors as a facet of the tripartite relationship is made apparent.

In Chapter V there is an examination and analysis of the interplay and dimensions involved in the relationships among sport, television, and advertisers/sponsors. Contained here is a discussion and concluding remarks as to whether or not the relationships are symbiotic or dependent. The conclusions are based on an examination of the dimensions of programming, sponsors/advertisers' influence, changes and paybacks as related to sport and television in Canada.

The final chapter provides a summary of the history, developments and relationships among sport, television and advertisers/sponsors in Canada and concludes with recommendations for future research and study.

CHAPTER II

THE EARLY HISTORY OF SPORT AND THE ELECTRONIC MEDIA

A. "Manna from Heaven" - Radio

The desire to foster national unity fuelled the early development of Canadian broadcasting. In 1919 Canada stretched from the Atlantic to Pacific Oceans and had nine provinces and two territories, all of which needed to be governed. One way the federal government could rule it effectively was to develop an extensive and effective means of communicating with its citizens in the different regions. When radio was established in Canada in 1919 it was received as "manna from heaven" (Smythe, 1966). Canada and Canadians had played an important role in the early stages of the development of radio. The first trans-Atlantic radio-telegraph message was received by Marconi in Newfoundland in December 1901; later, the Canadian government supported the Italian inventor by giving him a $80,000 subsidy to continue his experimental work (Jowett and Hemmings, 1975). The first radio broadcast on record was made by a Canadian, R.A. Fessenden, on Christmas Eve 1906 from Brant Rock, Massachusetts. Wireless operators on ships hundreds of miles away at sea heard it (Weir, 1965:1).

Despite these early benchmarks, radio broadcasting did not begin on a regular basis in Canada until 1919 when the Canadian Marconi Company of Montreal conducted some test programs and then commenced its regular organized programs. Within three years radio was established as a popular medium in both Canada and the United States. The Department of Marine in Ottawa issued thirty nine commercial broadcasting licences in 1922 and ninety one licences by 1926. In the early days the failure rate among licencees was high and only half were operating five years later, but the places of those who went "off air" were taken by other licencees.

Among the most successful of the early commercial broadcasters was the Canadian National Railway (CNR). Sir Henry Thornton, president of the CNR from 1922 to 1932, was referred to as the "father of network broadcasting in Canada" by Weir, author of The Struggle for National Broadcasting in Canada (1965:4) because Thornton believed a communication and transportation network spanning the country was essential to national unity and identity. He used radio and the railway to further this belief and vision. For example, when the CNR celebrated its first anniversary in the broadcasting business it made the first sponsored network broadcast from Montreal on December 30, 1923. Two months later, in February, 1924, the company opened its first radio station in Ottawa. Over the ensuing years as radio broadcasting developed, Thornton's addresses reflected a commitment to a national ideal and identity which he thought could be shared and enhanced through radio. Speaking at the opening of the transcontinentally broadcast All-Canada Symphony Concert series on October 20, 1929, Thornton remarked:

> It is only though nation-wide broadcasts that we shall accomplish what we regard as most important, the encouragement of a feeling of kinship between all parts of the country, to bring home to all sections more vividly our common aspirations and achievements. . . . We regard the use of radio as a national trust, It is essentially both a national and a local-service institution. As such it adds to the social and economic life of the nation. Service to the listener is the primary consideration. In the final analysis the listener himself makes the program. The future of broadcasting rests with the individual who turns the dials (Weir, 1965:17).

The Liberal government of Prime Minister Mackenzie-King agreed with

Thornton's assessment of radio and established a Royal Commission on Broadcasting to investigate what type of broadcasting system should be established in Canada. Headed by Sir John Aird, it visited twenty five cities and received 288 submissions before filing its report in 1929. One of the Commission's chief findings was that many Canadians were worried their culture would become swamped or Americanized by the flood of radio broadcasts flowing from the United States which reached more Canadian radios than Canadian broadcasts. Wrote Aird: "There is unanimity on one fundamental question--Canadian radio listeners want Canadian broadcasting" (Weir, 1965:108). The Commission had identified what was to become a perpetual concern, specifically the Americanization of Canadian culture. Broadcasting could "be adequately served only by some form of public ownership, operation and control behind which is the national power and prestige of the whole public of the Dominion of Canada" (Shea, 1963:4).

Lengthy discussions about the nationalization of radio followed the Aird Commission. But nothing was done about the issue until the Progressive Conservatives came to power under R.B. Bennett in the early 1930s. On March 2, 1932 the Prime Minister echoed Thornton's sentiments when he said:

> Canadians have the right to a system of broadcasting from Canadian sources equal in all respects to that of any other country. The enormous benefits of an adequate scheme of radio broadcasting controlled and operated by Canadians are abundantly plain. Properly employed radio can be a most effective instrument in nation-building, with an educational value difficult to estimate. . . . This country must be assured of complete Canadian control of broadcasting from Canadian sources, free from foreign interference or influence" (Weir, 1965:110).

Bennett directed a House of Commons committee to hold hearings on the Aird Commission Report. Finally, on May 26, 1932, Parliament passed the Canadian

Radio Broadcasting Act establishing the Canadian Radio Broadcasting Commission (CRBC), which would be reorganized and re-named the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation (CBC) in 1936. There were many problems with the organization of the Canadian Radio Broadcasting Commission and, as a result, a Parliamentary Committee recommended a complete reorganization of the national radio system as had been recommended in the Aird Report. On November 2 the Broadcasting Act of 1936 was proclaimed by Parliament. This established a public broadcasting system called the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation (CBC) which was headed by a Board of Governors, a general manager and an assistant general manager. The Act stated that the CBC had the mandate to provide Canada with a national broadcasting service and to supervise the nature of any programming and broadcasts. To meet this mandate the CBC formed the Trans-Canada Network to serve anglophone Canada and the French Network for francophone Canada.

Initially Canadians listened to the radio during the evening as only a few Canadian stations provided programs during the day; programs mainly consisted of music, dramas, national ceremonies and commentaries. In 1933 newscasts and weather reports were included. That year the CRBC broadcast two and a half hours of national network programs each evening and on Sunday afternoons. By 1936 the CRBC (soon to become the CBC) had expanded to include both its own and private stations and was now broadcasting six hours of programs a day during the evening to 50% of the Canadian population. The CBC programming increased to sixteen or more hours daily in 1938 and, in later years, the hours of service were increased even further.

With the increase in programming hours the CBC began carrying sponsored network programs not produced by the corporation. The fledgling network purchased shows from the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) in the United Kingdom and from American stations. Many of these programs were sponsored by the Canadian branches of American-owned companies and reached the major population centres. The CBC had a difficult task of persuading advertisers and sponsors to expand their programming to cover the entire nation and not confine their sponsorship to the heavily populated regions. The sponsored network programs with commercials were important in the network schedule because they helped the CBC generate revenues, build audiences and maintain its high standard in programming during its daily sixteen hour broadcasting schedule.

Even using sponsor-produced programs the CBC did accomplish a great deal. In Dependency Road: Communication, Capitalism, Consciousness and Canada, Smythe acknowledged that accomplishment when he stated, "Thanks to the astuteness of the Board and management of CBC and to the dedication of the people they employed, CBC programming did perform a nation-building role" (1981:174). The period from 1936 to 1953 has been called "the golden age of CBC radio." This reputation was based upon several vital programming developments. In 1938 the CBC Drama Department was formed and would eventually broadcast approximately 350 plays a year. As well, in 1938 the CBC initiated special interest programs for farmers and fishermen. The CBC maintained its own symphony and grand opera troupe; and, through competitions, encouraged Canadian singers, instrumentalists and comedians. Interestingly, the CBC did not have a sports department prior to World War II. The importance of news was recognized when the national news service was established by the CBC during World War II. It proved to be beneficial as a fundamental information-sharing unit to all Canadians. The era of information was in its infancy.

Although the management of the CBC failed to recognize the tremendous potential of sports programming and scheduled more "arts" and news programs, some sporting events were carried. The network did cover sports such as: baseball, golf, boating, basketball, horseracing, horsejumping, lacrosse, rugby and hockey. Having sporting events broadcast on the radio proved to be successful and popular with the listeners. The most popular sport to listen to on radio as well as view in person was hockey. It was the only regularly scheduled sport and one of the few sponsored programs on the CBC (Dixon, 1984).

It was the CNR that introduced radio hockey to Canada with its broadcast of the Stanley Cup match between the Montreal Canadiens and the now-defunct Ottawa Senators in March 1924. This early foray into ice hockey was not an immediate success. It would be three men from three different fields of endeavour who would turn hockey into a Canadian tradition. In the late 1920s Conn Smythe, then-owner of the Toronto Maple Leafs and Maple Leaf Gardens began meeting with Jack MacLaren, the president of MacLaren Advertising, and Foster Hewitt, then a reporter for the Toronto Star who in his spare time announced Maple Leaf games over the Star's own local station. Over rounds of golf the trio discussed how they might make money broadcasting Saturday night Leaf games across the country. Their casual talks turned serious and led to the creation of "NHL Hockey on Saturday Night," which would become "Hockey Night in Canada" in the 1960s. Many stories have been told of how the Saturday night hockey broadcasts from Maple Leaf Gardens first started. In an October 15, 1966 letter to the Toronto Star, Smythe described how it all came about:

> The original kick-off of the broadcast should be credited, I think, to the proper persons. Jack MacLaren, who started the MacLaren Advertising Company (and because of him it is a great agency today), Larkin Maloney (a lifelong friend) and myself all had cottages at

> Orchard Beach, Lake Simcoe.
>
> In rounds of golf, we discussed broadcasting many times and when it was suggested that we could get money for this--it was then I believed the story about manna from Heaven. Here were hundreds of firms paying for their broadcast, hoping to sell their products, and we were going to be paid to sell ours! Nothing in my life-time has ever seemed so good.
>
> Jack, who was a soft-sell man, got General Motors involved and in our eagerness at the Gardens to have the broadcast he made a very good deal for himself and, of course, Foster is no bad business man either. The years with General Motors were successful and then when they pulled out, Victor Ross, a member of our Board, suggested that Imperial Oil would be interested. I introduced Jack MacLaren to Victor Ross and, with both parties soft-soaping me, again I made a financial deal which was a little bit easier than I should have made. . . . In the early days MacLaren's was just a partner in the deal. The agency had complete control of the broadcast, except over the broadcaster. I kept control over the broadcaster, because I didn't want them firing Foster. Foster and The Star are really the ones who started it all.

MacLaren and Smythe's handshake agreement lasted for ten years until a written contract was drawn up. According to Weir (1965), the game broadcasts were first offered ~~to the~~ CNR, not General Motors; however, the railway was not in a position to accept it. Other sources interviewed, Don Twaits and Ted Hough, for example, said that MacLaren went immediately to his major client, General Motors, with the deal. Nevertheless, General Motors started its five year sponsorship of the NHL's games from Maple Leaf Gardens in November 1931. At the end of this period General Motors did not wish to continue to sponsor the hockey broadcasts, so in 1936, Imperial Oil took over the sponsorship. Though Smythe et al. were likely motivated by the love of sport and the desire to earn some money, the broadcasts also served another more altruistic purpose; they helped unify the country in a way that nothing ever had before. "The first, and still the greatest, tie that bound a nation together was the NHL Hockey Broadcast. Saturday nights on radio during the Canadian winter were nights when most of an entire nation gave itself to the flat, penetrating and serious imagery of the voice of Foster Hewitt" (Irving, 1962:157).

During the Depression, and later the war years, Imperial Oil continued to sponsor the Toronto Maple Leafs' Saturday night games, although there was no advertising for Imperial Oil's products since everything was rationed; however, the broadcasts were used to sell war bonds. An additional nation-unifying feature occurred during World War II when the hockey games were broadcast overseas, thus providing a "bit of home" to Canadian troops in Europe. Meanwhile, for many of the folks back home the Saturday night hockey broadcasts provided the one bright spot in their trying lives. Throughout English-speaking Canada, even in the west, a fierce bond of loyalty was forged to both Imperial Oil and the Maple Leafs:

> For years "Hockey Night in Canada" was really the only "national" broadcasting in Canada. Imperial did two things that stood them in good stead with Western Canadians: in the Depression they wrote off some $15 million worth of debt the prairie farmers had with Imperial and it brought them "Hockey Night in Canada." There are people in the West who will say that "Hockey Night in Canada" was one of the things that held this country together during the Depression, because nobody had anything to do, they didn't have any money. Literally the only form of entertainment was to sit down at night over the battery radio and listen to Hewitt at the Maple Leaf Gardens.
>
> It was one of the few network shows that was carried right across Canada and into the far reaches of the North. It was unique in a sense. It was a unique sports broadcasting program. Nothing ever like it in North America, in those terms--no other kind of audience. After that it was not unusual for surveys to tell you they had 65% of everybody living in the country listening to N.H.L. playoffs. What else was there to do? So it was a very unique thing

(Twaits, 1984:7).

After World War II several significant changes occurred in the Saturday NHL broadcasts. The Montreal Canadiens management headed by Frank Selke, Sr. discovered that his team was virtually unknown outside Quebec and had even been booed by hockey fans in Calgary who viewed them as the villainous arch enemies of the beloved Leafs. Selke realized very quickly that, as far as Canada was concerned, there was only one hockey team and that was the Toronto Maple Leafs. This he attributed to their radio broadcasts. He insisted that the Montreal Canadiens receive their fair share of the national coverage. Though Smythe did not want the Canadiens to have any part of the national coverage a deal was eventually worked out whereby the CBC would air the Montreal games coast-to-coast on Thursday nights on the Dominion Network and the Toronto games on Saturdays (Horler, 1984).

The arrangement may have satisfied Selke and Smythe, but it caused no end of trouble for sponsor Imperial Oil. Many western Canadians were infuriated to hear the Montreal Canadiens on their radios. Many longtime users of Imperial products tore up their credit cards in protest and returned them to the company. Gradually, the furor over the broadcasting of the Montreal Canadiens' games subsided and the Canadian public accepted the two hockey teams and the broadcasting of two games a week.

Although hockey was very popular, the CBC did not have a coherent philosophy regarding sports programming. During the 1940s the CBC adopted a format in its programming which later served as the model for television sports coverage. Basically, the CBC aired a wide variety of sports events, especially on weekends, and also provided sports scores at the end of its newscasts. Then, in 1944, the network produced a fifteen minute weekly program entitled "Sports College." With its "Keep Fit, Work Hard, Play Fair, Live Clean" motto, the program was a non-profit public service project devised by Lloyd Percival to inform young Canadians about all aspects of sport, health and physical training. Within four years "Sport College" had developed one of the largest followings of any CBC program.

Following the war, sports coverage mushroomed on the CBC's Trans-Canada, Dominion and French networks. According to the CBC's 1948-49 annual report the sporting events covered that year extended well beyond NHL hockey. Among the events covered: the eastern and Dominion football finals; the Winter and Summer Olympics; the Allan Cup hockey finals; the annual running of the King's Plate at Woodbine; the Derby at Epsom Downs, England; the Willingdon Cup; the Canadian Junior Golf Championship; the Canadian Amateur Golf Championship; the Royal Canadian Henley Regatta; the Canadian Derby; the Canadian Open Golf tournament; the Dominion Lacrosse finals; the International Gold Cup motorboat race; the Dominion Ski Jumping and cross-country championships; and the Dominion curling championships. In addition, the CBC offered daily sports commentaries and, in Quebec, a daily review of ski conditions during the winter. In 1950 network coverage of sports events increased and the CBC began covering sailing, track and field, prize-fighting, figure skating, skiing, tennis and baseball.

Hence, though radio programmers did not initially realize or take advantage of the popularity of sport, by the end of the so-called "golden era of radio" (1936 to 1953), sport had become a major component of radio fare. Largely thanks to its sports programming, radio was able to help unify a large and sparsely populated country in much the manner that Thornton and the Aird Commission had envisioned. The radio-sport union would likely have continued to be a major factor in the development of Canadian unity and identity had it not been for one thing--television.

B. The Emergence of Television as a Communication Medium

As a major electronic communication medium radio set the stage for television broadcasting in Canada, providing it with the format, style and even content still used to this day. In many respects televised sport was an extension of sport on radio. The best example of this grafting of one form of media onto another in the field of sport was the CBC radio's "Saturday night NHL hockey," which was carried live on radio as a sponsored program for thirty years before it became a popular Canadian television program in 1952. Douglas Fisher, a journalist, politician and sports historian, once explained the radio-to-television transition, especially as it related to sport, thusly:

> At first television tended to be a continuation of radio. Radio had already been developed in Canada and also the idea of a national audience particularly for hockey and also football. So the great distinction of Canadian sport from the very beginning has been that Canadians wanted a national focus. No sooner did the Canadian Pacific reach the west coast than there was a lacrosse team back from the west coast the very first year to beat Toronto and Montreal. Our country developed in sport this way, almost as a mimic of the political scene. This meant, or course, when we developed national communications, such as telegraph and so on, sport was very early on it.
>
> So the pattern was there from that early stage for television that came along. Everybody was aware in sport, including advertisers, that there was a national audience through radio. Naturally this shifted right over to television (1985:1-2).

The first public demonstration of television occurred in London, England on January 26, 1926 when British inventor John Logie Baird unveiled, his "televisor," a tiny oblong screen not much bigger than a business card. According to the account written up two days later in The Times, the miniature screen beamed the "faint and often blurred" image of a dummy head.

Though less than perfect, Baird's device showed it was possible "to transmit and reproduce instantly the details of movement, and such things as the play of expression on the face" (Shiers, 1975:387). Within three years the BBC was experimenting with Baird's televisor (CBC Times, Vol. 8, No. 31), and by November 1936, the year CBC radio was just getting started, had established the world's first regular television service. The Americans followed in 1939 with public telecasting, and two years later with commercial television. With the outbreak of World War II, television service was suspended in most countries (Weir, 1965).

Television expanded very quickly in the United States after the war. In Canada the progress was not nearly as rapid. In Ontario and Quebec Canadians living near the U.S. border bought television sets to watch American programs. This offended some of Canada's more nationalistic citizens who urged Ottawa to hurry up and decide what it wanted to do with this latest communication medium. Finally, in 1949 the federal government unveiled its interim television policy, which included television development loans to the CBC, together with the establishment of a Royal Commission on National Development in the Arts, Letters and Sciences--known as the Massey Commission after its chairman, the Rt. Hon. Vincent Massey--to investigate the future of Canadian radio and television.

After receiving 462 briefs and hearing from more than 1,200 witnesses, the Massey Commission tabled its report in Parliament on June 1, 1951. That fall the government amended the Canadian Broadcasting Act to include several of the Commission's recommendations, which basically supported the CBC's continued authority over broadcasting. No private stations should be licensed until the CBC had established a national television service, advised the report. Once licensed, private stations should be required to serve as outlets for national programs (Weir, 1965).

In March 1952, Montrealers were able to see Canadian television for the first time via a specially transmitted microwave link from the CBC's television studios in the Radio Canada building to an exhibition of radio and television receivers on display in a Merchandise Mart (CBC Annual Report 1951-52). Two hours of programs were offered each evening for a week.

Unlike in radio, sport was key to the development of Canadian television from the start. The CBC used a variety of sports in its testing of television during 1951 and 1952. In addition, MacLaren Advertising used closed circuit telecasts in Maple Leaf Gardens during the 1951-52 season to convince Conn Smythe of television's potential. Smythe was soon among the medium's staunchest advocates. Years later he would remark:

> When television came in, again manna from Heaven. How could anyone in their right mind ever turn down all the advertising they would get from broadcasting and television, when you know you have a good product to sell.
>
> It was always my contention that professional hockey, properly presented, (as it was, due to Foster's artistry) was one of the most exciting spectacles in the world (Toronto Star, 1966).

Hockey was not the only sport used to test the new medium. One of the first television test transmissions in Montreal was of a Montreal Royals-Springfield Cubs baseball game on July 25, 1952. It was highly successful and test transmissions using International League baseball games in Montreal continued from July 25 to August 6, and from August 29 to September 6, 1952. Televised baseball was a hit. But attempts to bring Canadian professional football to the tiny screen were less successful, though not for technical reasons. An exhibition game between the Hamilton Tiger-Cats and Toronto Argonauts, scheduled for telecast Sunday, August

12, 1951, was abruptly cancelled by football league officials worried about the possible negative impact television could have on gate receipts. To this day Canadian Football League (CFL) games are "blacked out" in the home team's area.

All the test transmissions came to an end in September 1952 when Canadian television was officially inaugurated with the opening of the CBC's first two program production centers--CBFT in Montreal on September 6, and CBLT in Toronto two days later. The September 17, 1952 issue of Canadian Telescreen heralded the occasion with the following headline and excerpt:

> THEY'RE OFF! - CBC STARTS HOME-GROWN TV
>
> Toronto - It took a long, long time, but television on an official and regular program basis arrived in this part of Canada early last week, two days behind the launching of the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation's other station, CBFT in Montreal.
>
> The $2,100,000 installation here and its equally expensive brother in Quebec started out with roughly three hours of programming each evening - a small portion of which is exchanged by kinescope recording - and are expected to remain that way for some time to come.

According to the CBC Annual Report 1952-53 the facilities were put to fullest use within weeks of the start of regular television service. CBLT was programmed in English while CBFT carried a fairly even balance of programs in both English and French and, in the daily broadcasting of news, actualities, documentaries and sports reviews the language used alternated from day to day. Programs were exchanged between the two stations by means of kinescopes--television recordings. Live sport telecasting, primarily of hockey games, was done through the CBC's mobile unit, basically a control room on wheels. Though primitive by today's standards, the unit provided the basic elements the CBC needed to develop its sport broadcasting.

The first official Canadian sport broadcast, other than test transmissions or United States import, was of a Montreal Canadien hockey game on October 11, 1952 in Montreal, followed by a Maple Leaf game on November 1, 1952 in Toronto. For years NHL hockey telecasts began with the last minute of play in the second period, followed by an announcer's summary of the first two periods. Only the third period of the game was completely televised. Despite the heavy editing done to allay hockey teams' managements' fears that televised games would lure spectators away from arenas, "NHL Hockey" quickly became the CBC's top-rated television show.

Though the CBC wanted exclusive NHL television rights, it co-produced the games with MacLaren Advertising, which, because of its hockey telecasts, was the first Canadian advertising agency to establish a television advertising department. Angry with Ottawa for its wartime conscription policy, Maple Leaf owner Smythe stubbornly refused to deal with any federal agency, including the CBC. Hence he would not sell the network the television rights to his team. Instead Smythe simply extended MacLaren's Maple Leaf radio rights to television for an extra $250 (Horler, 1984). Thus was the CBC forced to co-produce with MacLaren. The advertising agency might have been content to produce the games alone, but, as Ted Hough, president of Canadian Sports Network (CSN), once explained, "it was then as it is now--a combination wherein we used, of necessity, CBC's technical facilities and people because the network has always had a policy of being involved in the production of whatever they carry. So to that end we worked together, sometimes in harmony, sometimes not, producing and packaging the show" (1982:4).

Broadcasts of sports other than hockey were popular, too, both with the CBC management and Canadian audiences. In need of popular programming to fill airtime, particularly on weekends, the CBC management quickly grew fond of sport. By the end of 1953 11% of the CBC's television programming consisted of hockey and other sports (Dixon, 1984). The network's mobile units voraciously covered hockey, baseball, boxing, wrestling and football, sports which readily made the transition from radio to television. Less adaptable to the new medium were golf and track and field, which were technically more difficult to cover. In addition to games coverage, the CBC also aired shows like the weekly "Sports Parade," which offered sports news, films of current sporting events and interviews with leading athletes. Other programs featured panel discussions, sports topics, and experts demonstrating their golfing, fishing or other sports techniques (CBC Annual Report 1952-53).

Thanks to television, more Canadians than ever before could watch the 1952 Grey Cup football game. The CBC televised the Grey Cup final from Toronto's Varsity Stadium using a mobile unit and three cameras--two in the press box above the grandstand and on the 45-yard line. Pictures were beamed by microwave to a receiving disk at the 300-foot level of the television tower and then transmitted to the surrounding district. Both the radio and CBLT's television coverage of the game began at 12:45 p.m., but it was not a simulcast (radio and television at once). A kinescope recording of the game was rushed to Montreal for broadcast there later that day.

The CBC's successful launching of its television service in 1952 heralded a new era in Canadian sports broadcasting. At first radio and television used similar formats and formulas for broadcasting sports events. But eventually the unique properties and qualities of each medium became obvious and television producers gradually developed their own techniques, especially after television ownership became as widespread as radio ownership. The expansion of this electronic medium and its ever improving technological advances created the need for federal government policies regarding television regulation, delivery and programming.

C. Expansion and Development in the 1950s

1. Decision and Desire for a Cross-Canada Network

Three months after television's debut on the CBC in October 1952, Dr. J.J. McCann, then-Minister of National Revenue and responsible for the CBC, announced the federal government's second major television policy; one again based on the Massey Commission recommendations and reminiscent of Thornton's views on broadcasting:

> The government believes, with the Royal Commission, that television should be developed in Canada with the aim of benefiting our national life and that it should have the structure and the means required by Canadian conditions to ensure an adequate amount of suitable Canadian programs for Canadians, as well as using some material from outside the country. . . . It should be so developed that it is capable of providing a sensible pattern of programming for Canadian homes with at least a good portion of Canadian content reflecting Canadian ideas and creative abilities of our own people and life in all parts of Canada. . . . Now that television has started, it should be extended as widely and as quickly as possible to other areas (CBC Times, Vol.5, No. 27:3).

McCann wanted publicly owned broadcast and production facilities in each major region of the country and proposed that the government loan the CBC money to build stations in Vancouver, Winnipeg and Halifax. He also suggested the government license private broadcasters as well in areas not served by publicly owned stations, the objective being to serve as many Canadians as possible through co-operation between the public and private sectors.

The CBC wasted no time implementing government policy. In 1953 it increased its airtime to more than thirty hours a week, opened a third station (CBOT in Ottawa) and established two microwave relay links. The one between Toronto and Buffalo was in operation in January 1953 and Canada's first television network, a microwave relay system between Toronto and Montreal, through Ottawa, was inauguarated May 14, 1953. These links enabled viewers in Toronto and Montreal to watch the same program at the same time entirely by electronic means and without the aid of films or kinescope recordings (CBC Annual Report 1952-53). As the CBC expanded, so did privately-owned television stations. The first privately-owned Canadian station opened in Sudbury, Ontario in October 1953, followed one month later by one in London, Ontario. Other private stations soon started operations, in many cases assisted by the CBC. By 1955 the CBC's microwave network had been extended to include privately-owned stations in London, Kitchener, Hamilton, Windsor, Kingston and Quebec City.

On December 16, 1953 the CBC took its first big step towards nationwide expansion by opening a fourth station, CBUT, in Vancouver. Though equipped with its own studio and newsreel facilities CBUT relied heavily upon kinescope recordings imported from eastern Canada until 1954 when it obtained its own mobile unit. In January 1954 the CBC opened CBMT, its English-language station in Montreal and CBFT became a completely French service. Canada's national broadcasting service was unfolding as Minister McCann had envisioned, with the CBC stations as the backbone working in conjunction with private operators to provide a nationwide service.

By March 1954 the CBC's national television network consisted of five CBC stations and four privately-owned affiliates and provided an average of forty five hours of programming a week. Kinescope recordings of network programs were distributed to stations not directly connected with the network. In addition, national programs were sent via the "kine network" to CBUT in Vancouver and to privately-owned affiliates in Sudbury and Saint John. In 1954 the CBC increased the amount of programming it distributed to its privately-owned affiliates from ten and a half hours to twenty four hours a week. About 67% of the CBC's programming originated in Canada, with the balance coming from American studios and the BBC. During the 1953-54 television season the CBC established a national news service which produced a daily ten minute package of national and international news for affiliates and a weekly newsreel for private stations (CBC Annual Report 1953-54).

During the CBC's first two years of television operation the number of television sets owned by Canadians grew from 146,000 to more than 800,000. Indeed, Canada's was the fastest growing television-viewing population in the world (CBC Times, Vol. 7, No. 7). From March 1954 to March 1955, the CBC's national television service more than doubled its operations and the number of television stations in the national system tripled to twenty six. National television was available to about 10 million Canadians, or more than one-third of all Canadian families. By March 1955 the English network was airing in excess of fifty hours a week, more than half of it produced in Canada. The French language service offered about forty hours a week (more than 80% Canadian produced) and the private stations carried over forty hours a week of national service (CBC Annual Report 1954-55). Moreover, that year the CBC made agreements with commmunication companies for nationwide direct relay network facilities thus making the coast-to-coast linking of

Canada by television a certainty by 1958.

One of the Massey Commission's recommendations had been that Ottawa review its television policy within three years of the start of a national television service (Peers, 1979). To that end the federal government appointed Robert M. Fowler of Montreal to head its third Royal Commission on television in December 1955. The Fowler Commission was directed to review the CBC's policies, its financial requirements, the measures needed to ensure an adequate number of Canadian-made programs, and the licensing and control of private stations and other related matters. Through its tour of twelve Canadian cities, acceptance of 270 briefs and hundreds of informal discussions, the Fowler Commission detected two schools of thought. The first argued for the continued and unchanged existence of the CBC system with a single national authority; the second advocated a radical restructuring and formation of a separate regulatory body for Canadian broadcasting.

As the Fowler Commission conducted its work in 1956, the national television service continued its rapid growth (see Table 1). The number of television stations increased by seven, one CBC and six privately-owned, to thirty three (eight CBC and twenty five privately-owned) television stations operating and affiliated with the CBC networks. By the end of the year Winnipeg had been connected via microwave to the national system and television was now available to 80% of the population. By March 1957 the CBC's English network was broadcasting forty eight hours worth of programs a week--60% of it Canadian made--and the private affiliates averaged thirty eight hours weekly. The Canadian content of its French service continued to exceed 75%. As 1959 rolled to a close, the national network consisted of eight CBC stations and forty one privately-owned ones. Some 3.45 million homes, 86% of the population, could tune in to the CBC's television programs

TABLE 1 Number of Television Stations in Canada, 1953 to 1959 *

Year	CBC English	CBC French	Private English	Private French
1953	1	1 (bilingual)	0	0
1954	4	1 (French)	4	
1955	6+	1	17	2++
1956	6+	2	22	3++
1957	6**	2	26	4
1958	6	2	31	5
1959	6	2	34	7

* Source: Adapted from Peers, 1979:46.

+ Includes CBOT, Ottawa which was bilingual until June 1955

++ Includes CFCM-TV, Quebec, which was then bilingual

** Excludes two armed forces stations in Newfoundland (1957 and thereafter), managed by the CBC

TABLE 2 Television Coverage in Canada, 1953 to 1959 *

Fiscal year ending March 31	Cumulative sale of TV sets ('000)	Percentage of homes with set	Percentage of population within range of Cdn. stns.
1953	310	8	26
1954	728	17	43
1955	1423	34	66
1956	2169	51	72
January 1	Number of TV homes ('000)		
1957	2306	57	78
1958	2796	67	82
1959	3111	73	85

* Source: Adapted from Peers, 1979:46.

(Weir, 1965) (see Table 2 for statistics relating to television coverage during the 1950s).

On July 1, 1958, after years of planning and hard work, east and west were finally connected by a $50 million, cross-Canada network. In a program called "Memo to Champlain," Vancouver and Victoria were linked to Sydney and Halifax by an "electronic skyway." A tremendous engineering feat, it marked the first all-Canadian, live coast-to-coast transmission in Canadian television history. The following June, the skyway was extended to St. John's, Newfoundland, thus creating the longest network in the world stretching 4,200 miles. Boasted the CBC's 1957-58 annual report: "The combined live-production output of the English and French TV networks is greater than that of any other network in the world" (CBC Annual Report 1957-58:17).

The establishment of the cross-Canada network marked the end of the first major stage of Canadian television development (Mellanby, 1979). Both recorded and live television could now be viewed across Canada. One television veteran observed: "It was an exciting time because live television was on everybody's lips." The network solved the problem of broadcasting over several different time zones by timing its programs to best accommodate the most populous area in Canada--the Toronto-Montreal corridor.

In August 1958 the fledgling Conservative governnment of John Diefenbaker introduced a new broadcasting bill to Parliament. Passed later that year on November 10, 1958, the new Broadcasting Act established two boards: a fifteen member regulatory Board of Broadcast Governors (BBG) and an eleven member board of directors for the CBC to operate the CBC's national service. The third part of the new broadcasting law repealed the Canadian

Broadcasting Act of 1936 and provided a transitional period for the New Act to become effective (Peers, 1979). The BBG had regulatory responsibility over all public and private stations and the establishment and operation of networks. Moreover, it was to ensure the continued existence and efficient operation of a varied and comprehensive national broadcasting system that was basically Canadian in content and character. The CBC board was given the power to operate and maintain the CBC broadcasting stations and networks and, subject to approval, establish new stations. Though controlled by the board, the CBC's annual budget would require national Treasury Board approval (Weir, 1965). The new Act departed completely from the concept of a single unified system supported by the Fowler Commission and also from their recommendations regarding financing the CBC. Though the majority of private broadcasters applauded the new act, the CBC complained that it stripped the corporation of much of its power. In any event, the new Act signalled the start of yet another new era in Canadian broadcasting (Peers, 1979).

One of the underlying concerns in Canadian television broadcasting from its inception was program content. It had always been the assumption in radio broadcasting, and now television, that Canadians wanted Canadian programs. Thus successive Prime Ministers had insisted that program production form one of the CBC's central mandates. But the Canadian viewer was, in reality, rather ambivalent about homegrown programming. For instance, many Canadians said they preferred popular American radio and television shows to generally less slick and flashy Canadian ones. Nevertheless, with the onset of television, the CBC produced many programs for distribution to both the CBC and private stations. These shows featured everything from popular entertainers to reports on Canadian and world events to women's programs to shows for farmers, fishermen and children. But the cost of television production was extremely high in Canada compared with the United States and Great Britain. Hence private stations tended to purchase syndicated American shows because they were cheaper and had greater viewer appeal than their Canadian counterparts. One of the major arguments used against the privately-owned stations was that their heavy use of American programming threatened the Canadian television industry and culture. For its part, "the CBC could not be guided mainly by 'ratings,' of mass popularity programs, though it had to pay attention to them" (Weir, 1965:294). But even the popular American programs had to be Canadianized to win audience acceptance and advertisers' approval.

Canadian advertising agencies like MacLaren Advertising were key to the development of the CBC's programming, and a great deal of negotiating went on between the agencies and the network. "We represented, by virtue of the funding of the advertisers, the access to American programming, and the access to the money with which Canadian programming was put together" (Hough, 1982:4). To generate funding for its own productions, the CBC adopted a packaging deal with advertisers; it would allow a Canadian advertiser to bring an American show to Canada if it agreed to sponsor a Canadian program too. Sometimes the advertiser could bring in two American programs for sponsoring one hour long Canadian production like the CBC Sunday drama, "Sunday Night General Motors Presents," which had a tremendous budget. Once the advertising agency had purchased the American program, imported it to Canada and "horse-traded" with the CBC over scheduling and sponsoring of a Canadian show, it still had to Canadianize the American product. In the following excerpt, CSN's Ted Hough explains why and how this was done:

> Everyone used to love the Dinah Shore show. Her theme song was "See the USA in your Chevrolet; America is the greatest land of all." You really couldn't run two nights a week on CBC opening the program that way, so we would Canadianize it.
>
> We changed the words on the floor of the studio on the spot because it had to be done instantly. The American show business people are not that tolerant of being told or asked by Canadians to do things differently for Canada. She did a take of her theme and it was "See the broad highway in your Chevrolet; Canada is the greatest land of all." We took the sound tape back to Canada. The show would come over the line from New York and we'd have a person at the CBC master control push the little button when she came on and did the theme. Hopefully push the button so you'd get the Canadian words while she was singing the American version.
>
> That was Canadianization in one sense. We had to Canadianize the commercials because obviously they were riddled with an American flavor and we didn't have the facilities for producing commercials in Canada. I think through the early days of television you could find a number of examples of how the programs and/or commercials were Canadianized in order to make them acceptable in this country (1982:5).

Some Canadian television programs, however, were just as popular, if not more popular, than the American imports and managed to draw enormous audiences even in competitive areas. Among these programs were Saturday night hockey, special events such as the Grey Cup game, variety programs like "Holiday Ranch" and the national 11 p.m. news (Peers, 1979). Canadian sport scored very well in the all-important television ratings, consistently attracting large audiences.

2. Sports on television during the 1950s

During the 1950s the CBC handled sports on television in much the same way it had on radio. It covered the week's major sporting events, seasonal sports like hockey and football, and it produced weekly sports features and newsreels on hockey, wrestling and boxing. In addition, it offered instructional programs in which athletes demonstrated their techniques, and studio interview shows like "The Vic Obeck Show" from Montreal and Dave Price's "Sports Folio" from Toronto.

During its 1954-55 season the CBC had two firsts in sport coverage--the 1954 British Empire and Commonwealth Games and the 1955 World Hockey Championships. Both provided the CBC production crews and Canadian viewers with valuable experience and excitement, setting the stage for what was to become a CBC tradition of covering major international sporting events. The Fifth British Empire and Commonwealth Games were held in Vancouver from July 30 to August 7, 1954. It was the most extensive television coverage of any special event the CBC had ever undertaken. Indeed, it "was the first time that a sporting event of such magnitude had been televised to the North American continent" (CBC Times, August 29-September 4, 1954:4). It was also the first time eastern and western Canada were linked to receive simultaneous telecasts of an event.

Planning for the Games began in October 1953. There was no television network linking Vancouver with the rest of Canada, so arrangements were made with the National Broadcasting Company (NBC) in the United States for a special microwave network. Television coverage of the Games was transmitted from Vancouver to Toronto via a closed coaxial cable and microwave circuit stretching 4,500 miles through Seattle, Portland, Sacramento, Salt Lake City, Denver, Omaha, Des Moines, Chicago and Buffalo. From Toronto the Games were transmitted to the microwave connected television stations of eastern Canada. Stations in eastern Canada not connected were sent film recordings the following day. It was the largest television network ever connected at that time and it enabled viewers in both

Canada and the United States to see the Games. In case the route failed, arrangements had also been made with Trans Canada Airlines to fly television recordings to Toronto where they would be processed, printed, edited and distributed.

The CBC provided live coverage of both the opening and closing Games' ceremonies to eastern Canada and to the NBC network in the United States. Viewers in the Vancouver area received up to four and a half hours of live programming daily. Recorded one hour packages of the day's events were flown to Toronto each evening to be telecast on the network and distributed to non-connected stations. Coverage was also supplied through the CBC's international service to countries around the world. The CBC went 'all out' in its coverage of the Games:

> Two complete mobile units, each with a crew of 10, will be in service for the Games. One will be stationed close to the broadcasting centre at the Stadium, to cover the track and field events with three TV cameras--one at the finish line, another picking up interviews with the athletes as they make their way back to the dressing rooms, and the third mounted on a jeep to provide general coverage of the track and field events and infield activities [Figure 1]. The other mobile unit will be at the Empire Pool on the University of British Columbia campus, concentrating on swimming and diving events [Figure 2,3].
>
> CBC film cameras will cover most other events, although a mobile unit will not be on hand for the cycling and boxing finals. Film footage of events such as rowing and sculling at the Vedder Canal venue will be edited in Vancouver and integrated into the daily cross-country telecasts. Members of CBC's National News Service will prepare their own newsreel material for CBC News Magazine and other regular CBC-TV productions (CBC Times, July 25-31, 1954:2).

The climax of the Games' telecasts was the highly-publicized one-mile footrace, now known as the "Miracle Mile," between Roger Bannister of

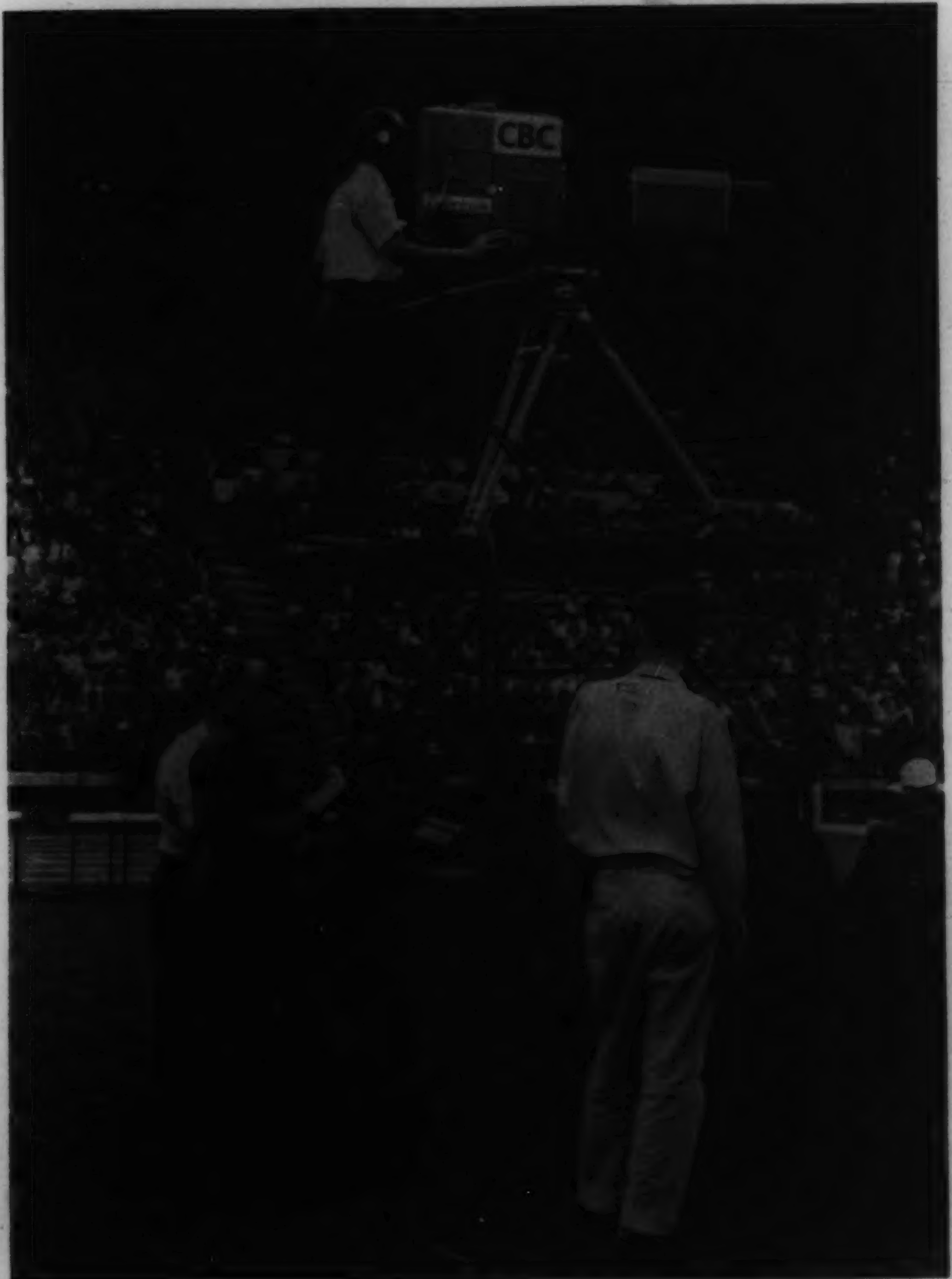

Figure 1 Television camera mounted on a jeep to provide coverage of events in Empire Stadium during the Fifth British Empire and Commonwealth Games in Vancouver, B.C. in 1954.

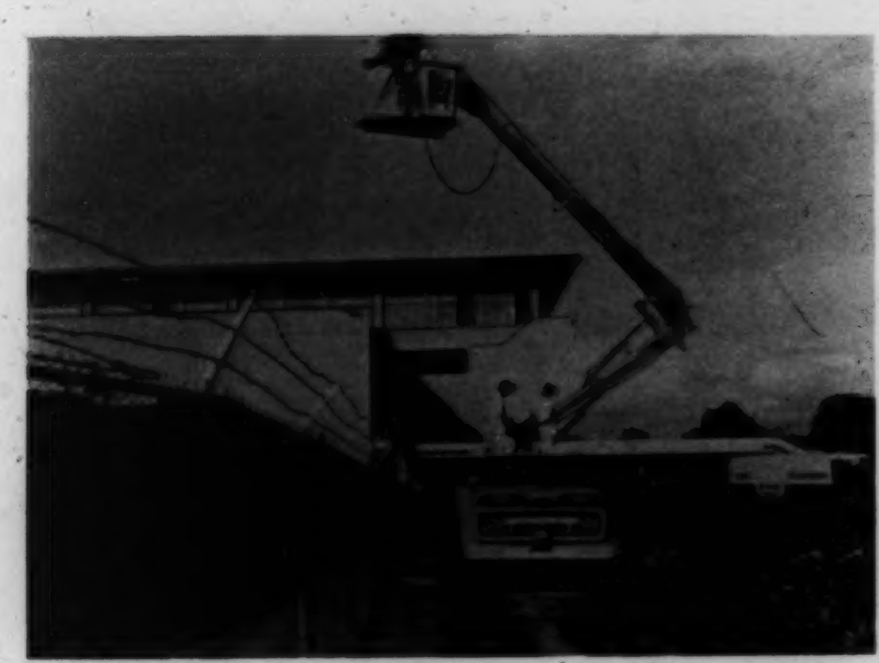

Figure 2 Television camera mounted on a crane outside Empire Pool to provide coverage of the swimming and diving events at the Fifth British Empire and Commonwealth Games.

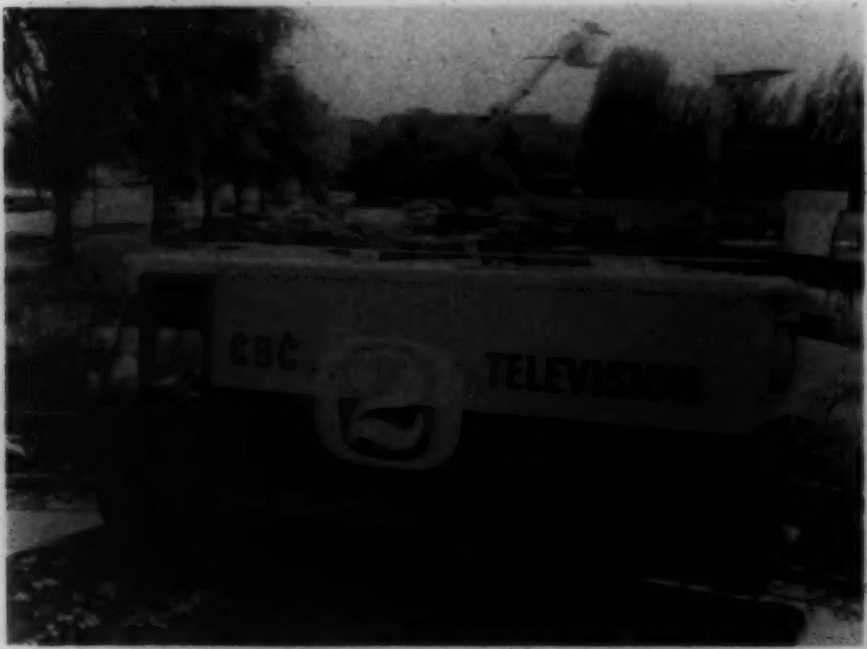

Figure 3 The CBC mobile unit at Empire Pool during the Fifth British Empire and Commonwealth Games.

England and John Landy of Australia, who were then the only two humans in the world to have broken the four-minute mile. They were to race each other on the last day of the Games, and the CBC had a duplicate set of broadcast equipment, including camera, mobile unit and microwave relay, on standby just in case a technical glitch should develop (CBC Times, 1954). The telecast went off without a hitch, as had the bulk of the Games coverage.

After the Games the CBC shifted back to its regular sports programming with the usual weekly telecasts of wrestling and boxing, the seasonal coverage of hockey, football and baseball and telecasts of special sporting events like Davis Cup tennis matches, the Queen's Plate horse race, the world's curling championship and international soccer matches. Saturday night NHL games and football continued to draw large television audiences over the connected network. The CBC viewers in most eastern Canadian cities could watch Saturday afternoon games of the Big Four conference every week. The rest of Canada could watch recordings of the games on Sunday afternoons duing the season from the end of August to late November, 1958. In western Canada selected games of the Western Interprovincial Football Union (WIFU) were broadcast live or by film, depending on the location of the game. Once again the highlight of the football schedule was the Grey Cup final, which was carried live over the connected television network, and shown by means of kinescopes over the unconnected stations (CBC Annual Report 1954-55).

From February 24 to March 6, 1955 the CBC experienced another first--coverage of a major sporting event outside Canada. The network sent a five-man crew to cover the World Hockey Championship in West Germany for both radio and television. The CBC covered the last two periods of each game with its Auricon camera. The final game between the U.S.S.R. and Canada was covered in its entirety. Each morning after the games the television film was flown to Canada for broadcast the next day (the third day after each playing date) over CBC's microwave network and distribution to non-connected stations (CBC Annual Report 1954-55).

During the latter half of the 1950s, the CBC made little change in its sports programming, continuing to cover a variety of major sporting events, both amateur and professional, at international, national, regional and local levels. In the 1956-57 season it scheduled more than 200 hours of live telecasts of sporting events in Canada, the United States and overseas. In its annual report for that year the CBC observed that "Coverage of major sporting events is an area in which the immediacy of broadcasting, and particularly television, excels" (CBC Annual Report 1956-57:27).

Sports programming played an important part in the CBC's television schedule mainly because of its popularity with viewers. In the late 1950s the CBC grew increasingly interested in the number of viewers watching its programs; large audiences attracted sponsors (advertisers) and that meant money for the corporation. Telecasts of sports finals and semi-final events attracted some of the largest radio and television audiences recorded during a year. In 1957 the CBC provided its first complete coverage of the Stanley Cup playoffs on both English and French networks. Each year the Stanley Cup playoffs and the Grey Cup final attracted huge audiences (See Table 3). In fact, NHL hockey was consistently one of the most popular programs on Canadian television. Other sports had their year round followings as well. A survey of the four month period between November 1957 and February 1958 showed that Friday night boxing, Saturday night hockey and wrestling were leading audience attractions, averaging 1.495 million for wrestling, 1.664 million for boxing and 2.117 million for hockey (CBC Annual Report 1957-58).

TABLE 3 Largest Television Audiences 1956 to 1959*

Year	Sporting Event	Audience Size
1956	Grey Cup game	4.5 - 5 million
1957	Grey Cup game	4.8 million
1958	Stanley Cup playoffs	5.36 million
1959	Stanley Cup playoffs	6.1 - 7.4 million

* Source: CBC Annual Reports, 1956 to 1960.

One could see television's growth and expansion across Canada reflected in the descriptions of how the network covered each year's Grey Cup game. In 1955 the CBC covered the Grey Cup from Vancouver using the same type of organization, effort and expertise it had for the Fifth British Empire and Commonwealth Games the year before. A system of temporary network links and special circuits to Toronto via Seattle and Buffalo brought the game "live" to the fourteen station network in the east. Meanwhile kinescope recordings were distributed to non-connected stations in minimum time (CBC Annual Report 1955-56).

In 1956 Toronto hosted the Grey Cup game and even though the network only extended as far as Winnipeg, Vancouverites saw the game "live" via a 3,400-mile network leased in the United States. Three different play-by-play commentator crews (two for English language coverage and one for French) had to be arranged because there was a different sponsor in Quebec than in the rest of Canada. All the commentators used the same picture of the game, but each needed special facilities and coverage of the game required expert handling by technical and program staff. Once again, kinescope recordings of the game were distributed to non-connected stations.

In 1957 viewers all across Canada were able to see the Grey Cup game on "live" television for the first time. "Coverage of the Grey Cup final was the year's biggest single operation in sports broadcasting" (CBC Annual Report 1957-58:15). Estimates were that 4.85 million viewers in 1.759 million television homes watched the game from Toronto's Varsity Stadium. According to the CBC, of the 68% of Canadian television sets in use during the telecast, 97% of these were tuned to the game.

In addition to professional hockey and football, which were the mainstays of its sports programming, the CBC also continued its coverage of international sports. For example, in 1956 it filmed the Winter Olympic Games at Cortina d'Ampezzo, Italy. Since the principal interest of Canadians was the performance of the Kitchener-Waterloo team in the hockey tournament, films of all the Canadian games were flown to Canada for the earliest possible showing, usually a two day delay. The CBC also showed filmed highlights each night of the other events. In 1957 a CBC crew provided regular filmed and voice records of the World Hockey Championships at Oslo, Norway. From 1958 to 1960 the CBC aired filmed highlights of the British Empire, Pan-American and Olympic games but details of the coverage were not included in the CBC Annual Reports.

3. Areas of concern in sport and television in the 1950s

Three areas of concern about television and sport emerged during the 1950s: improvement of event coverage; the impact televised sport had on attendance at sporting events; and the purchase and selling of television rights for sports like football and hockey.

In the first area of concern--the actual coverage of a sporting event--the producer, director and cameramen had to experiment with the number of cameras, camera positions and other details. During the early and mid-1950s three cameras were usually used to cover football games. Two were in the pressbox, one covered the play-by-play and the other focused wide. The other camera was a mobile one on the sidelines at ground level around centre field. In 1958 a fourth camera was added, either in the end zone or high atop the stadium, depending on the preference of the producer and the structure of the stadium. Gordon Craig, president of The Sports Network (TSN), remembered the cameras: "When we had three camera coverage, we would have two cameras with zoom lenses, the third and eventually the fourth had normal lenses where you had to rack over from a wide angle to a close-up" (1985:2)

Three cameras were initially used to cover NHL games, too. Two cameras, one above the other, were located on one centre ice pillar. Even so, hockey coverage was mainly a one camera show. Frank Selke, Jr. explained that MacLaren Advertising was one of the few production houses in the world which thought hockey should be covered with one camera. "We believe that the most important aspect of hockey coverage is to stay with the flow. Zoom in, zoom out, and so on but don't constantly be cutting from one camera to another because you destroy the guy-at-home's perception of where the puck is. So we stay with it with one camera at all times" (1980:11). The change from three to more cameras happened in the late 1950s when the mobile units, along with the CBC's other equipment, became more sophisticated (Horler, 1984).

Coverage of all sports improved immensely in 1958 when the videotape recording was introduced to Canadian television. Videotape, basically the recording of television signals on magnetic tape, revolutionized coverage, programming and production. It rendered the kinescope obsolete because it provided a much better picture and it was cheaper to use because the tape could be played back immediately without processing. Moreover, it was reusable. Most importantly, videotape was electronic and probably equal in quality to live television (Sterling and Kittross, 1978). With videotape, stations in western Canada had a high-quality, practical means of delaying broadcasts from Toronto or Montreal without having to repeat shows or distribute filmed or kinescope recordings. Television personnel interviewed for the study all commented on the tremendous impact videotape had on the development of television and sports coverage.

As television's technical personnel developed ever more sophisticated equipment and ways of covering sports events, those involved in the sports themselves were more concerned about television's impact on sport and on attendance at sporting events. Some sports officials believed that televising a sport led to improved attendance at games and increased gate receipts. Others, insisting that telecasts hurt attendance, argued for blackouts. Hence some sports organizations co-operated with televison personnel in the production of a telecast while others did not. Generally, those sports that co-operated with television benefited from the association; those which did not suffered and later tried to make amends for their initial lack of co-operation. In addition, other sports enthusiasts wondered if television was good for sport in both the short and long term. Since television had been in operation longer in the United States than in Canada it was natural that some of the first commentaries on sport and television came from American writers. (Years later similar comments were made by Canadian writers).

For example, on Christmas Day 1955 John Lardner wrote an article in the New York Times Magazine entitled "Sports on TV - A Critical Survey." In it he stated that after nearly ten years of televised sport in the United States there was a widespread belief that the televised view of a bout, match, or ball game was at least as satisfying as seeing the event in person. Lardner half-seriously maintained that television was good for some sports and not for others:

> Horse-racing - Here televison is better than real - if you consider this complex pastime purely as a sport or spectacle. . . . Nearly all the significant action in a horse race can be kept in view by one strong, well-placed camera.
>
> Wrestling - It's been said that television built its foundations on wrestling and Milton Berle. The suitability of wrestling to the new medium was obvious. . . . The fact is wrestling - that is, contemporary wrestling - is a branch of show business, and not a sport.
>
> Boxing - On the face of it, boxing has strong resemblances to wrestling, as a camera project - a small, enclosed field of action, head-on physical contact, just two leading characters. It promised, at the start, to make excellent television. But good boxing is not really show business, or - intrinsically - a mass entertainment. . . . At its best, boxing is a contest of skill. . . . The result is that skill, having first been wasted in televised boxing, has now largely disappeared. . . . I admit that the TV view of a fight is better than the view from the rear and gallery seats in a big outdoor arena. . . . The point is that TV boxers feel they cannot afford to bother with short-range work or with science or subtlety. The result is logical but disturbing. "Developing a TV fighter"
>
> Football - TV is as good as, or better than, the real thing. That's because every TV viewer has for each play the equivalent of the best seat, visually speaking, in the grandstand and because camera coverage, adequate to begin with, seems to be improving.
>
> Baseball -The fact remains that the sport is not compatible with television. Televising it is like televising the Battle of the Coral Sea or life in a 30-story hotel. This is a complex of dimensions and dramatic details that must be studied in the round. It requires altitude. . . . The TV baseball game is curtailed, truncated, and teeming with blind spots; as previously noted, it is only 15 or 20 per cent of a game.
>
> Tennis - Tennis is well adapted to the needs of the video viewer, but the system used in the stadium at Forest Hills, the principal showcase of the sport in America, is not.
>
> Basketball, Hockey - Owing to problems of pace, range, lighting, distance and focus, I think it's fair to say that watching basketball

> and hockey in person is preferable to watching them on television (1955:10,11,27).

Whether people agreed with Lardner or not, some of his points were well taken and eventually proved to be correct. Within the next few years televised boxing had so severely hurt local boxing clubs and attendance at matches that it was dropped from regular sports programming. Many people felt that television had "destroyed" the sport of boxing through overexposure, not for the reasons Lardner mentioned.

Three years later in Canada, Milt Dunnell questioned the relationship between sport and television in his regular "The Inside Track" column in The Star Weekly Magazine:

> There's no doubt of what television has done far from the fields, the arenas and rinks. It has set up cheering sections in the pubs and the living-rooms. But what is it doing to the box office? Is it the monster that devours whole leagues, as some of the alarmists insist? Or is it the money in the bank that pays the rent and enables certain sports to live beyond their normal budgets? (January 25, 1958).

To find the answers to his questions Dunnell examined the state of boxing in both Canada and the United States, along with the condition of Canadian professional football. Small boxing clubs were dying because of the overexposure of boxing on television. Meanwhile football in eastern Canada had become dependent on money from television sponsors. Lew Hayman, one of the east's top football executives, explained that "the successful promotion of professional sport today depends on the ability of the promoter to live with TV and use it to his advantage. You can create new fans and increase your revenue by televising your road games. It's true that no club in the Big Four could operate on the present scale without television money"

(Dunnell, 1958). An expected outcome of televised football at that time was the development of an interlocking schedule between the Big Four and the WIFU because the television sponsors were more interested in purchasing the rights to a nine-team, east-west interlocking schedule than two separate ones. If that type of schedule was accepted then football clubs in both leagues needed the revenue from the sponsors to offset the added costs of transportation.

But in order for televised football to succeed in Canada, football executives felt that local blackouts were necessary. A blackout simply means that a game is not telecast to viewers within a fifty to seventy five mile radius of where the game is being played. Blackouts were first imposed in Canada in the early 1950s. Unlike football, professional hockey was never subjected to the blackout. This, said football officials, was for two reasons: the capacity of a hockey rink was much smaller than that of a football stadium; and football, because it was played outdoors, was at the mercy of weather conditions--fans would rather stay home and watch the game on television than brave inclement weather.

Dunnell concluded his article on the relationship between sports and television on a somewhat philosophical note: "Whether the impact of TV on sport has been good or bad, the association is only in its infancy." And he agreed with the following statement of Conn Smythe: "Any sport that's going to be killed by TV would probably have died anyway."

Smythe thought television was good for business and so did not blackout home games. But just to ensure that televising a home game did not have a negative effect on attendance, he began the hockey telecast at 9 p.m., an hour after the game had started. This, he reasoned, would encourage fans to attend games. Interestingly, when games were finally telecast in their entirety, after long and sustained pressure from fans and advertisers, there was virtually no impact whatsoever on game attendance at Canadian-based NHL games.

By the late 1950s it had become quite apparent that television rights to popular professional sports like hockey and football (the third area of concern) was an important issue. NHL broadcasting rights were negotiated by each club. It was related in an earlier section how Jack MacLaren and Conn Smythe worked out a deal for the Toronto Maple Leafs' television rights; MacLaren Advertising also negotiated with the Montreal Canadiens management to get their rights. MacLaren negotiated the deals with the network or with the individual stations and acted as an agency on behalf of Imperial Oil who was the sole sponsor of the hockey telecasts. The American teams in the NHL wanted the two Canadian teams to share this hockey revenue but the Canadian teams would not go along with that idea. When the Montreal Canadiens were bought by the Molson family in 1957 the team's advertising rights were sold to Molson Breweries Limited of Canada and the television rights became an issue. Imperial Oil was the sponsor of the hockey telecasts for both the Toronto Maple Leafs and Montreal Canadiens and wanted to maintain that relationship while the brewery people also wanted to take advantage of the relationship between the hockey team and television and become co-sponsors with Imperial Oil. An agreement was reached whereby Imperial Oil and Molson became co-sponsors on the hockey telecasts and when the Provincial advertising laws changed, Molson would also share in the advertising on the telecasts. The costs associated with the hockey telecasts, particularly the broadcast rights, kept increasing. For example, Hollis Brace, Molson's senior vice president, in the late 1950s negotiated the first Molson-Canadiens' television rights package for $475,000 for three years;

today: "We pay that for three games" (1985:7).

The negotiation of television rights to Canadian professional football took a different route. During the 1950s the CBC, a brewery, or any interested party, could negotiate rights separately with the Big Four and the WIFU. Initially the rights mainly went to the CBC for around $200,000 annually, although one year they were sold to Dow Brewery (Gaudaur, 1981). In 1956 the Big Four signed a three year, $950,000 television contract with a Montreal brewery, along with an additional $30,000 contract with the CBC for playoff rights.

In the 1958 season the Big Four received $350,000 in the last year of a three year contract. Sam Berger, chairman of the Big Four's television committee, thought the Big Four would probably have received more than had been offered to date if it permitted local telecasts of home games. The 1959 football contract was a point of contention for about six months. Initially the CBC did not bid for the rights; the football executives thought they could call the shots and, if need be, do without television. In a January 31, 1959 Globe and Mail article entitled "Tenders Not Acceptable, Big Four May Skip TV," Berger indicated that the main reason the bids were not acceptable was that the money offered was not enough. Berger stated that: "We would rather go without television than accept an unsatisfactory offer. We are aiming for last year's figure because we think it is worth it to a large advertiser. . . . One difficulty in televising night football games is that they clash with other television commitments." Six months later, in July, the CBC announced it would telecast twenty one Big Four and seven WIFU games during the 1959 season, plus playoffs and the Grey Cup final on November 28. The football executives compromised somewhat as the CBC was reported to have paid $312,000 for television rights to the Big Four games and more than $100,000 for the western television rights.

The stage had been set for change. The entire decade had been a period of growth from the infancy to the early youth of television in Canada. This development included an expansion of the relationship between sport and television in Canada from one similar to the one which had existed between the two in radio. Advertisers/sponsors became involved in more sports. Canadian sport was important to television because it attracted large audiences, helped meet Canadian content requirements, and it provided the CBC with relatively easy-to-produce programming. During this decade sport officials made decisions regarding the sale of television rights to their games. Purchasing the rights to the football games helped the CBC with its sports programming and helped the football teams financially. In 1960 the purchasing of television football rights would play a major role in the development of Canada's broadcasting system and in the creation of its second network, CTV. The 1960s would be a decade of marked growth and vital change.

CHAPTER III

THE PERIOD OF GROWTH AND EXPANSION

A. General Developments in the 1960s

The 1950s was a decade of growth and development for the infant Canadian television communications system. With only two stations in 1952, the Canadian television industry had expanded into a sophisticated, cross-country network by the end of the 1950s. In 1958 the federal government passed a new Broadcasting Act which heralded a new era in Canadian broadcasting. As mentioned earlier, the new Act established the Board of Broadcast Governors (BBG) to regulate both public and private broadcasters and it set up the Board of Directors for the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation (CBC) to operate the CBC network. Most importantly the Act allowed for the continuation of both private and public broadcasting systems in Canada. One of the key objectives was to bolster the amount of Canadian programming in both public and private broadcasting systems.

The BBG was responsible for defining Canadian content and ensuring that the country's stations and networks offered enough of it. Shortly after its inception the BBG decreed that all stations were expected to provide a minimum of 45% of Canadian content in their programming during the summers and 55% during the rest of the year beginning every October. The requirement appeared heavy, but the BBG was actually quite lenient about what constituted Canadian programming. Not only Canadian productions, but newscasts, commentaries and foreign broadcasts in which Canadians were participating or of interest to Canadians, including baseball's World Series, qualified as Canadian programming. Most commentaries written on the Canadian content regulations said the BBG was completely ineffective in improving the quality of Canadian programming because its regulations offered broadcasters so many loopholes (Weir, 1965).

Nonetheless, the Broadcasting Act of 1958 set the stage for the establishment of two Canadian television networks. In January 1960, the BBG began hearing applications for second stations in Winnipeg, Vancouver, Montreal, Toronto, Edmonton, Calgary, Halifax and Ottawa. In reaching its decisions, the BBG weighed thirteen different factors including: "coverage, facilities, location of effective control in the company, financing, experience of both the directors and management personnel, expected revenue and capacity of the market, program commitment, and association of the applicants with other media of communication" (Peers, 1979:227).

Nine groups applied for the one licence available in the Toronto application hearing March 15-19, 1960. The successful applicant was the Toronto Telegram or Baton Aldred Rogers Broadcasting Ltd. which was headed by the Telegram's publisher, John F. Bassett, Sr. Bassett's success sparked numerous charges of political favoritism from both within and outside Parliament (Peers, 1979). Nevertheless, CFTO was given the difficult Toronto market.

By the end of June the BBG had awarded its second station licences and turned its attention to the possibility of establishing a second network in Canada. This new network, reasoned the BBG, would enable the BBG to ensure that "the new stations would provide a reasonably satisfactory standard of program service and meet the requirements set by the BBG as the guardian of the 'single system' contemplated by the Act" (Peers, 1979:232). Two separate parties were willing to supply the BBG with its second network: a union of the second stations; and one by Spencer W. Caldwell of Toronto.

In July 1960, the eight new second stations formed the Independent Television Organization (ITO) to foster mutual co-operation with respect to technical matters, co-ordinating program requirements and exchanging programs (Chercover, 1982). The ITO selected Murray Chercover, then-CFTO program director, as its chairman and R.E. Misener of CFCF-TV as its first president. Chercover, now president of CTV, said that most stations in ITO were reluctant to enter a formal network because of their local responsibilities, the pre-operating expenses that would be incurred and the anticipated first-year operating losses.

During its September 1960 hearings on the proposed second network, the BBG received submissions from the CBC, the ITO, S.W. Caldwell and the Canadian Broadcasting League. The hearings clarified the term "network." It was defined as "a person having affiliation agreements with two or more stations to broadcast . . . within specified periods . . . a specified program or package of programs in a manner determined by such person" (Peers, 1979:236). The BBG declared it wanted the new network to have no less than six affiliates and to provide at least ten hours of programming a week (Shea, 1963). Once the BBG announced its regulations, only Caldwell continued to apply for the right to set up a new network. On December 8, the BBG gave Caldwell permission to form a new network but Caldwell still had to persuade the new second stations to join him. Sports, particularly football, and CFTO would both play a key role in the formation and future of Caldwell's network.

In addition to owning CFTO, Bassett was the chairman of the Toronto Argonaut Football Club. In an impressive display of business acumen, he purchased the 1961 and 1962 eastern Canadian television rights to the Big Four football games by bidding $375,000 to the CBC's $350,000. Writing in the *Globe and Mail*, Dennis Braithwaite observed that CFTO's capturing of the football television rights had thrown the broadcasting industry into a furor that could seriously affect the country's television future (March 1, 1961). In an interview Bassett explained why he wanted the football rights and how he got them:

> We got a licence for television in 1960 and I was very keen. I didn't know anything about television but I felt that it was absolutely essential that CFTO get into pro sports--both football and hockey--which at that time had a very high rating and popularity.
>
> I was chairman of the Argonauts at the time. We, in football, felt that the CBC were difficult to deal with and they probably felt the same about us. But in any event, I bid for the Big Four rights and I bid more per year than CBC and I got them. Then I was faced with the problem of how was I going to show the games anywhere except in one market because I had no network licence.
>
> So I went to Ottawa and had an appointment with the BBG and met with the President of the CBC, Alphonse Ouimet. He and I had a pleasant chat and he asked me to sell him the rights, but only for the amount the CBC had bid. He said I could have some gains but I wasn't interested in that.
>
> The hearing went on and I remember he said before Dr. Stewart and the BBG: "this young man has got no network, he's got no sponsors and he's got no network." Dr. Stewart said: "What about that?" and I said "he's quite right; I don't have a network, the microwave or sponsors but I've got the rights and I'm going to use them" (1982:6).

Bassett had a plan for covering the games and offering them to the independent stations but, unfortunately for him, two or three obstacles stood in his way. One was the CBC which would not permit its affiliates to deal with CFTO and carry the Big Four games. J. Alphonse Ouimet, then-CBC president, insisted that the corporation had to preserve its integrity, hence its affiliates could not take football programs from a station outside the CBC network (Daily Star, March 4, 1961). On March 6, 1961, Ouimet sent a telegram offering to buy the rights from either the Big Four or CFTO a scant two hours before the contract was signed. The telegram clarified the CBC's position and read in part:

> While the CBC would prefer to continue its efforts of the past six years toward building nation-wide interest in Big Four and WIFU football, we would have no alternative in the east but to meet the football interest we have created through our extensive telecasts in some equally effective manner.
>
> We feel this would be regrettable in view of our mutual efforts in the past, and also in view of the developing interlocking schedule which will practically demand national network coverage if football development through television is to continue.
>
> The corporation holds the view that it is neither in the long-term public interest, nor in the interests of the network's individual stations, for CBC stations to operate as part of other networks. To approve such arrangements would be to invite a chaotic situation in broadcasting capable of destroying bona fide private and public networks alike (Daily Star, March 7, 1961).

Caldwell found himself in a strong position thanks to the CBC's stand; he had the only microwave transmission available for CFTO to use. But CFTO had to enter Caldwell's proposed network before it could use Caldwell's facilities (Daily Star, March 8, 1961). In need of a network for his football games Bassett agreed and supported Caldwell when he reappeared before the BBG on April 13, 1961 (Peers, 1979). During the hearings Ouimet declared that CFTO's successful bid was "one of the strangest, most puzzling and, some might say, presumptuous actions in the history of Canadian broadcasting" (Daily Star, April 14, 1961). Nevertheless on April 21 the BBG announced its approval and on October 1, 1961 the Canadian Television Network (CTV) began operations with eight affiliates: Vancouver (CHAN-TV), Calgary (CFCN-TV), Edmonton (CFRN-TV), Winnipeg (CJAY-TV), Toronto (CFTO-TV), Ottawa

(CJOH-TV), Montreal (CFCF-TV), and Halifax (CJCH-TV). A ninth station, CHAB-TV in Moose Jaw, joined CTV in August, 1962. Of CTV's creation, Bassett later observed that it would likely not have happened so quickly had CFTO not purchased the television rights to Canadian professional football (1982). Chercover later put it quite succinctly: "If there had been no rights to a national event of that kind, the probability is it would have been at least two or three years before any form of networking actually took place" (1982:18).

Initially only Montreal, Ottawa, and Toronto received live programs through CTV's microwave. The other five stations made do with videotape recordings until the private network was able to link Vancouver by microwave in September 1962 and Halifax by the summer of 1963 (Peers, 1979). The network averaged about ten hours of programs a week during its first year and twenty four hours a week with a better balance of programming in its second year (Shea, 1963). Unlike other networks, CTV owned no stations or production facilities. It had a program control centre in Toronto and for the most part, made use of the studios and facilities of its member stations, rented studios and facilities, and/or hired outside producers to prepare original CTV network programs. All nine member stations owned shares in CTV and so had considerable say in the program hours and time periods in which they allotted network time on their stations (Shea, 1963).

In the spring of 1962, football television rights and the broadcast of the Grey Cup game once again generated controversy for the CBC, CTV and BBG. The entire episode was dubbed "The Football Fumble" by Weir (1965) and "The Grey Cup Fiasco" by Peers (1979). Though Bassett had outbid the CBC for the 1961 and 1962 television rights to football games played in eastern Canada and to the Grey Cup championship, CTV could not cover a national event like the Grey Cup game. Hence Bassett sold the rights for the Grey Cup game to the sponsors who in turn approached the CBC to broadcast the game. Bassett then asked the BBG to make the telecast available to his station and the other two second stations in Ottawa and Montreal. The BBG refused; only the CBC and its affiliates would carry the Grey Cup game.

But the situation changed in 1962. CTV won the right to televise football games in western Canada while Bassett maintained his eastern Canadian rights. The CBC offered the Canadian Football League $125,000 for the Grey Cup rights on a non-exclusive basis or $175,000 for exclusive rights but Bassett, with the option of first refusal, matched the CBC's bid for exclusive rights and was awarded them. However, advertisers still wanted wider coverage than CTV could provide (Peers, 1979; Weir, 1965). So on May 30, the BBG met with CTV's Caldwell and the CBC's Ouimet to discuss the matter. The BBG then sent CTV a letter, with a copy to the CBC, stating that the BBG would not require the CBC to release its affiliates in order for them to carry CTV's Grey Cup game broadcast (Peers, 1979).

What followed has been interpreted in different ways, depending on whose side one takes. According to Peers (1979), Bassett wrote a letter to the BBG, with a copy to the CBC, in which he offered the Grey Cup game to the CBC, sponsored or unsponsored, but hoped that the CBC would choose sponsored. The CBC accepted the broadcast but without sponsors. Four weeks later, July 5, the BBG informed the CBC that Bassett's offer of June 7 was "not acceptable to the other owner of the television rights" and thus the CBC could not have them. However, according to Weir (1965), the CBC claimed that Bassett offered the broadcast to the game by letter in June to the corporation on an unsponsored basis, and that after his offer had been accepted by the CBC it was withdrawn.

Whichever version one accepts, the result was the same. In the summer of 1962, the BBG stepped in and tried to end the CBC-CTV Grey Cup feuding. It proposed a regulation which required both networks to carry the game on all stations intact, including CTV's commercials (Peers, 1979). Unwilling to carry the game with CTV's sponsors, the CBC's refused, arguing that the BBG's proposal contravened the Broadcasting Act. Shortly before game time on November 15, the BBG ordered the CBC to carry the game, replete with CTV's commercials. The CBC refused, went to the Federal Deputy Minister of Justice for advice and issued a press release saying: "it did not intend to allow CTV or any unauthorized person or organization, either directly or indirectly, to use the national broadcasting service as a sales tool" (Peers, 1979:256). The CBC did offer to make several courtesy announcements, brief acknowledgements of thanks, mentioning the sponsors of the game (Weir, 1965). Since the broadcast rights had been transferred to the sponsors at the beginning of October the CBC had to negotiate with each one separately and finally CTV and the Grey Cup sponsors agreed to the CBC's proposal.

Interestingly the 1962 Grey Cup game was plagued with weather problems which created more "glitches" for the broadcasters. Indeed, so much fog rolled in (commentators dubbed it the "fog bowl") that organizers had to stop the game and continue it the following day. Wrote BBG Chairman Andrew Stewart of the event: "It seemed a fitting climax to the events that the 1962 Grey Cup game ended prematurely in a fog" (Peers, 1979:257).

The whole unseemly exercise convinced both networks they had to work out some sort of arrangement for covering football games. Hence the two networks signed an agreement whereby they would share the television rights for Canadian professional football for a five year period ending January, 1968. Both networks would still bid separately for the rights each year, with the winner getting first choice of the days and times of games during the season and the loser choosing from the leftovers. Both networks would televise the Grey Cup final.

In January 1963, just over ten years after Canadian television was officially born, there were sixty one television stations in operation. Of those, fourteen were owned and operated by the CBC and thirty three were affiliated with the CBC network. Of the thirteen stations not connected with the CBC, nine formed the CTV network. In another breakdown, of the sixty one stations, forty eight were English-speaking and thirteen French. Canadians owned an estimated 4 million television sets (Shea, 1963).

After the Liberals were returned to power in the 1963 federal election, Jack Pickersgill, Secretary of State and responsible for broadcasting, asked the three men with "the greatest experience in broadcasting," BBG Chairman Stewart, the CBC's Ouimet and Don Jamieson, president of the Canadian Association of Broadcasters, to advise the government on its broadcasting policy. As the trio--known as "The Troika"--submitted its report in May 1964, the government appointed Robert M. Fowler, the chairman of the Royal Commission of 1957, to chair an Advisory Committee on Broadcasting. It became known as the Fowler Committee on Broadcasting and its 1965 report is cited as "Fowler II."

The broadcasting system confronting Fowler in 1964-65 differed radically from the one he had investigated nearly ten years earlier. His Advisory Committee report began by noting that, "The only thing that really matters in broadcasting is program content; all the rest is housekeeping" (Peers, 1979:317; Weir, 1965:453). The primary emphasis for both public and private broadcasters must be on programming. "The private sector must share in the national objectives of the Canadian system, but the CBC having the principal responsibility, must be paramount in creating and maintaining a broadcasting system distinctively Canadian" (Peers, 1979:317). The report was highly critical of both the CBC and private operators, as well as the BBG. Reminiscent of 1957, a federal election was called shortly after Fowler filed his report.

In December 1965, Prime Minister Lester Pearson announced that he would head a special seven member cabinet committee to study the Fowler Report and prepare a White Paper on Broadcasting policy. The next month, Pearson also appointed, for the first time, a standing committee to review broadcasting, films, and assistance to the arts. Seven months later, in July 1966, Pearson's cabinet committee unveiled its White Paper. Other developments in broadcasting had to be attended to first so the White Paper on Broadcasting was not referred to the Standing Committee on Broadcasting, Films and Assistance to the Arts until November 23, 1966.

As the federal government probed the Canadian broadcasting industry, CTV's affiliates were growing increasingly unhappy about the network's operations and programming. The unrest developed from a perceived difference in philosophy between the network's broadcasters and shareholders. Originally the BBG had decreed that the networks could not collectively own more than 48% of the company's shares. Hence the stations could not invest very heavily in CTV and the bulk of its investment had to come from the non-broadcasting sector of the community not involved in broadcasting (Chercover, 1982). The difference between what the two groups wanted was simple: the broadcasters wanted the network to provide them with programs which were meaningful to the public, which assisted the stations in the development of an audience and which they individually could not provide themselves. For their part, the majority of the shareholders wanted to recoup their investment, preferably with a tidy profit, as quickly as possible.

> So we had this constant conflict between an under-financed network which never undertook to do any programming of any significance. For example, they didn't buy the football rights; those football rights were held by Mr. Bassett. He took the responsibility of selling off those rights and selling the time and the lines and the whole thing. The network should have taken that responsibility, should have taken over those rights but they didn't.
>
> Another example is they didn't initiate a national newscast. The stations finally said that this was ludicrous, we have a network and we must have a national newscast. We, therefore, agreed to have a national newscast and every night at 11 o'clock we [CFTO] originated a newscast which was paid for by the stations--not by the network. It was called the CTV National News and it wasn't even sold by the network. It was sold by the stations in order to try and recover their costs. So all the meaningful programs and the sports rights on a national basis that a station would look to a network to provide were not being done by the network, they were being done by the stations (Chercover, 1982:19).

In 1965 it became apparent that the network, as it was then structured, would fail financially. Consequently, the original founding stations approached the BBG and told it that since the stations did not want the concept of a private network to fail they were willing to take responsibility for operating CTV in the public interest. The stations then collectively bought the CTV network as it was licensed and formed a committee, consisting of representatives from each station, to select a Board of Directors to set up and run the entire operation (Esaw, 1981). The stations made their application to the BBG on February 23, 1966 and on March 10, 1966 received approval and took over the operations for the 1966-67 season (Chercover, 1982). The network's official, legal name was CTV.

One of the other concerns in broadcasting in the fall of 1966 was the availability of Canadian colour television programs. Canadians were eager to see this type of programming and so, on the advice of the BBG, the starting date for regular colour transmissions was September, 1966. "Both networks began rapidly to convert their studios and mobile equipment to handle production in colour, and the CBC was authorized to install the necessary facilities in Montreal for the coverage of Expo 67" (Peers, 1979:366).

On April 1, 1968, after a year of plodding through various stages of cabinet and House of Commons committees, Canada's new Broadcasting Act was proclaimed. Generally, observers considered it an improved version of the 1958 Broadcasting Act, with only incremental changes in policy. However, some of the improvements were substantial. For the first time cable transmissions systems were included as part of broadcasting, which certainly had an impact on future broadcasting. In addition, the BBG was replaced with the new Canadian Radio Television Commission (CRTC).

The primary objectives for the Canadian broadcasting system were basically set out in sections 2(b) and 2(d) of the Act:

> (b) the Canadian broadcasting system should be effectively owned and controlled by Canadians so as to safeguard, enrich and strengthen the cultural, political, social and economic fabric of Canada;
>
> (d) the programming provided by the Canadian broadcasting system should be varied and comprehensive and should provide reasonable, balanced opportunity for the expression of different views on matters of public concern, and the programming provided by each broadcaster should be of high standard, using predominantly Canadian creative and other resources (Peers, 1979:409).

The above objectives were important because they gave the CRTC direction with regard to imposing standards and conditions of licence; it would make all broadcasters--the CBC, private, and cable systems--aware of what was expected; and "it would help maintain the existence of a broadcasting system intended to serve Canadian needs despite the influence everywhere of American television and films" (Peers, 1979:409).

In addition to reiterating much of the policy set out in the earlier Act of 1958, the new legislation strengthened the position of CTV as a national network. This ended the CBC's monopoly of the airwaves and forced it to enter the 'fray' of commercial television and compete for the rights to broadcast major events, especially sporting ones. This helped to forge stronger ties among sports, television, and advertisers/sponsors during the next two decades. The existence of two networks spawned not only competition, but new sports programs.

> Prior to CTV and Bassett's involvement the CBC as the only outlet could say 'these are the games we will carry or if you want this done, you must do it at this date or this time'. The football league had no alternative; they had nobody else to create a bidding situation for rights and nobody else to play against each other. When the second option came along, the league was in a position to start, competitively, to get into the field. That's what they did. Certainly they affected each other! CTV affected what the league would do and the league, because they knew they had an alternative, started to make changes to accommodate television more than they had in the past (Esaw, 1981:4).

B. The Growth of Sport and Television

1. Introduction

The 1960s was a new era for sports and television; it was the blossoming of the relationship between sport and television. Sport officials grew increasingly aware of how television could enhance the popularity of their activity and television executives became more appreciative of how sport could help them attract larger audiences and advertising dollars (Esaw, 1981). An increased awareness and appreciation for what one partner did (and could do) for the other were the key reasons for this blossoming of the relationship.

> A lot of people for a long period of time both in Canada and the United States saw sports as something they did but it wasn't until the early 1960s when people began covering sports in a particular kind of way. When a sports fan would say "I prefer to watch it on television because I can see more than I do at the rink or at the stadium" suddenly television discovered that all that gimmickery of instant replay, isolated cameras, seeing a play from six different angles enhanced the coverage of an event to a degree that nobody had ever imagined. And then people began to sit back and say--My God! what television does better than anything else it does is cover sports. Then people's attitudes began to change (Herrndorf, 1982:7).

The change in attitude was directly linked to television's rapid technological advance, which rendered sports programs ever easier and cheaper to produce well. As sports programs improved in technical quality and sophistication, thanks mainly to videotape, the audience for them widened. Eventually sport became so important to television that networks began establishing special sports departments, which were then urged to look for even more sports events to cover.

Both Canadian networks increased their sports coverage in three ways: they bought existing shows such as the NFL game of the week from the American networks; they broadcast a greater number of games per season in sports already covered, like CFL football and NHL hockey; and they searched for sporting events never before televised. For example, in 1962 CTV's Johnny Esaw, eager to find new sports for the then two year old network, watched some figure skating and decided it would make an ideal sport for television (Esaw, 1981).

As television executives and producers looked for more sports to attract more viewers, sports officials, especially in professional sports, began to realize that television could provide them with invaluable, money-generating exposure. As a result, during the 1960s officials and athletes alike became more co-operative about making changes in the way they played their games in order to accommodate television. Most of these changes will be discussed later in this section.

2. Sports Coverage

The 1960s proved to be a critical decade in the development of the symbiotic relationship among sports, television and advertisers/sponsors. "New" sports such as figure skating, curling, golf, and professional baseball proliferated on the small screen. International sports competitions like the Summer and Winter Olympic Games and the Pan-American Games held in Winnipeg in 1967 became important television "events" requiring air time for events and painstaking pre-production planning. In Canada professional hockey continued to be a major viewing draw, but most of the medium's technical innovations and developments regarding television rights emerged through football.

a. Football

By 1960 both the Big Four and WIFU leagues had their games televised by the CBC. Each league had a different view about how important revenues from television rights and exposure were. To the Big Four, it was very important and in January 1960 that league named a committee, chaired by Jake Gaudaur, to negotiate the sale of television rights for its games. The rights were eventually sold to the CBC for $350,000. Later that year, columnist Milt Dunnell observed that without that television money, the league could never afford the high salaries needed to import American players.

In November 1960 the Big Four and the five team WIFU finally agreed to partially interlock their schedules, thus ending nearly five seasons spent arguing the details of national competition. Television revenue proved the major stumbling block in past negotiations. Finally this time the leagues decided that whichever of them negotiated the rights' contract would keep the revenues from it. The Big Four had negotiated a lucrative deal with the CBC and was unwilling to split the proceeds with the western league. For its part, the WIFU agreed to forego a share of the revenue because it was eager to get an interlocking schedule in place for the 1961 season in order to please its fans (Globe and Mail, November 26, 1960).

Indeed, 1961 proved to be an important year for sports and Canadian television. As previously mentioned, the second network, CTV, came on the scene that year and used the Big Four and Canadian professional football as a vehicle in its formation. With the creation of CTV the CBC now had competition, especially when it came to buying television rights for sports. CTV's coup created the biggest commotion seen in sport and television for a couple of years and sparked questions about whether or not football's owners had the best interests of their fans in mind. "Thousands of Grid Viewers in the Dark as CFTO wins Big Four Teevee War," declared a January 18, 1961 headline in the Daily Star. In this and other stories written over the ensuing months, sports writers pointed out that only a limited number of Canadians would now be able to watch the Big Four games because CFTO (later CTV) had only three stations in eastern Canada. But the sale to CFTO had guaranteed the Big Four clubs a profit for the 1961 and 1962 seasons (Globe and Mail, February 21, 1961).

Furthermore, since CFTO owned the rights to the Big Four, it now had first right of refusal on the 1961 Grey Cup game. The BBG was quite concerned about this since the CTV network was comprised of only eight affiliates and so could not reach as many viewers as the CBC. Canadian football's integrative capacity was too important, the BBG suggested, to have the Grey Cup game broadcast to anything less than the widest possible national audience. "It would be in the public interest that the Grey Cup game should be carried by the corporation," stated the BBG (Daily Star, March 10, 1961).

During the BBG hearings of April 1961, the BBG's chairman stated he thought it "rather shocking" the Big Four was prepared to sell CFTO the games without assurance they would be shown outside Toronto. When the chairman questioned Bassett about this, Bassett replied: "They took money. They had less interest in the coverage than the fee they received" (Daily Star, April 14, 1961). Indeed, the motives of the Big Four administrators appeared rather crass in light of information divulged at the hearings.

In May the battle between the CBC and CFTO kept interlocking football games played in western Canada out of eastern Canadian living rooms, despite the new interlocking schedule agreement between the Big Four and the WIFU.

The decision hurt Canadian football in two ways: the interlocking schedule was a more attractive product for a sponsor and fans; and to fill the resultant vacant air time, both networks began broadcasting NFL games on Sunday afternoons. The CBC televised a NFL game each Sunday afternoon for fourteen weeks and CFTO showed a NFL game every Sunday afternoon from September to Christmas at the same time as the CBC's NFL game. So both networks covered NFL games, CFTO and CTV telecast Big Four games, and the CBC televised WIFU games and the Grey Cup game. After the Grey Cup game, writer Jim Hunt warned in the Star Weekly that the influx of American professional ball was having a devastating effect on the Canadian game. Indeed, he claimed, the Canadian game had grown boring and now faced a crisis:

> Whatever the answer, Canadian football must act--and act soon--or the sport may be headed for a further decline. This year the Big Four sold its television rights to a private network in three eastern cities--Toronto, Ottawa and Montreal--rather than the CBC. This deprived viewers in many parts of Canada, including the Maritimes and western and northern Ontario, of Canadian football. When the decision was announced, the CBC was deluged with protests.
>
> Once the season started, and CBC viewers began to watch NFL games for the first time, the protests ended. In their place, according to CBC publicity chief Don MacDonald, has been a steady stream of mail stating how much the former fans of the Canadian game are now enjoying U.S. football (December 9, 1961).

The Canadian football people needed to do some thinking about their priorities because playing with the networks was going to cost them. Canadian television viewers were a vital part of their existence.

In 1962 the battle over the television rights to Canadian football resumed between CTV and the CBC. This time Bassett and CTV, owners of the television rights for the Big Four and the WIFU respectively, wanted to televise the Grey Cup game and planned to exercise their rights. Bassett vowed to match whatever bid the CBC came up with, so determined was he not to allow the CBC to have anything to do with telecasting the game (Telegram, April 6, 1962). CTV President Caldwell was not nearly as emphatic as Bassett; he felt the public interest should be considered and that it did not matter which network's crews covered the game as long as it was televised throughout Canada (Telegram, April 6, 1962).

At the beginning of June the Canadian football officials announced the sale of the 1962 Grey Cup game's Canadian television rights to CFTO and CTV for $175,000. The United States rights were sold to ABC for an undisclosed amount. ABC arranged for a videotape of the game to be made by CTV and then showed the game later in the day following the Army-Navy classic on 135 ABC stations. After the announcement CTV officials offered to relay the telecast to the CBC stations outside the CTV hookup, but the CBC refused on the grounds that it would mean a precedent-setting split of the network. Months of negotiations between the CBC and CTV, and the intrusion of the BBG, followed. The key issue was that CTV's limited facilities meant the Grey Cup would not be available to every Canadian with a television set. This concerned the BBG and it implored the CBC to allow its stations to carry the CTV feed. (Most of the details have been discussed in a previous section on the creation of CTV). Finally, a few days before the game, the CBC agreed to carry CTV's Grey Cup telecast but without CTV's commercials.

During the week before the 1962 Grey Cup game the CBC and CTV again tried to outbid each other to purchase the Big Four's 1963 and 1964 television rights. The year before CTV had purchased the western league's 1962 and 1963 rights for $400,000 ($200,000/season). Ted Workman, president of the

Montreal Alouettes and spokesman for the Big Four television committee, said the highest bid would not necessarily be accepted and defended the committee's decision to sell the Big Four rights to CTV two years earlier: "I would like to emphasize that CTV didn't get the rights only because of the money involved. There were other considerations which we considered very important" (Globe and Mail, November 10, 1962). However, Workman never said what the other considerations were.

Three days before the 1962 Grey Cup game Workman announced that CFTO, through its subsidiary Glen-Warren Productions Ltd, was awarded the Big Four's 1963 and 1964 television rights to all league and playoff games in the east for $802,000 ($401,000/season). Workman also said that negotiations were under way between the rival networks that would result in the broadest coverage ever for Big Four football. After the Grey Cup game both CTV and the CBC decided to come to a suitable arrangement that would help all three parties and avoid the showdown debates of the previous two years.

As the two networks negotiated an agreement concerning Canadian professional football, the two football leagues tried to settle their differences over television revenues. Though content to allow the Big Four to keep all the television revenue to itself in the 1961 and 1962 seasons, in 1963 some WIFU executives threatened to cancel the interlocking schedule agreement if the Big Four refused to share television revenues with their league (Globe and Mail, February 16, 1963). The interlocking schedule was about to be cancelled when Canadian football Commissioner Sydney Halter intervened. The two leagues agreed to a settlement whereby receipts from closed circuit television would be considered part of the live gate and shared with the visiting team.

In March 1963, CTV and the CBC signed a five year agreement under which they would share Canadian football television rights. Under the agreement, the networks would divide regular season and early playoff games between them, with CTV televising weekday and Sunday games and the CBC airing most Saturdays. Both would carry the semi-final playoff games and the Grey Cup game. Both networks would decide on a common procedure for bidding on future rights, though they would neither pre-determine the amount of their bids nor act jointly in seeking commercial sponsorship. (In 1962 Labatt Brewing Company Limited, British-American Oil and Nabob were principal sponsors) (Globe and Mail, March 16, 1963).

Not everyone was pleased with the CBC-CTV agreement, least of all the football executives. Workman said the league was "gravely disturbed" by the deal. In a letter to the BBG he accused the board of eliminating the element of competition between the two networks in bidding for Big Four football rights. He shed some light on why the football executives had originally supported the establishment of CTV in the first place:

> . . . the league had pledged its support for the BBG's decision to establish a second TV network in Canada by awarding its game rights to the privately-owned CTV Television Network Limited. The league had taken this step, he [Workman] said, at the cost of losing its markets in Eastern [Atlantic] Canada where the CTV had no outlet.
>
> However, since then the BBG--in it's extended football coverage to the widest audience--had helped bring about an agreement on television coverage of football games between the CBC and CTV networks. This had virtually eliminated competitive bidding between the networks for rights. "Gravely disturbed by the implications of such a development, our league has hopefully looked to the field of closed-circuit television for its salvation," Mr. Workman said (Telegram, June 4, 1963).

So even though the CBC-CTV agreement meant more exposure for Canadian professional football, league executives mainly worried that removal of the CBC-CTV rivalry for television rights would mean less revenue for their football clubs. This became a major sore point between the networks and Canadian football league for the next few years. (See Table 4 for the cost of television rights for Canadian football for each year in the 1960s).

Table 4 Canadian Football League Television Rights (in Canadian Dollars) for the 1960s *

Year	Eastern Conference	CFL Total	Western Conference	Grey Cup	Total
1960	350,000		160,000		
1961	375,000				
1962	375,000		200,000	175,000	750,000
1963	380,000		200,000	155,000	735,000
1964	401,000		206,000	165,000	772,000
1965	475,000		270,000	175,000	920,000
1966	475,000		250,000	178,250	903,250
1967	475,000		255,000	186,000	916,000
1968	475,000	#[785,000]	310,000	193,000	978,000
1969	500,000	[810,000]	310,000	199,000	1,009,000

* Compiled from information in the 1972 CFL Commissioner's Annual Report, Watkins' dissertation on "Professional Team Sports and Competition Policy: A Case Study of the Canadian Football League" and selected newspaper articles.

# In 1968 the CFL Commissioner was asked to handle all sales of television rights on behalf of the league. The amount in the brackets [ ] is the actual total received by the CFL which was divided amongst the teams.

Figure 4 CBC sportscaster Don Wittman used one television monitor and binoculars to do the play-by-play commentating of a Winnipeg Blue Bombers-Saskatchewan Roughriders football game in Winnipeg in 1964.

Figure 5 Two CBC cameramen in the pressbox covering a regular season CFL football game in Winnipeg in 1964.

When the television rights to the 1965 and 1966 seasons came up for bids, the Big Four departed from its usual habit of selling to either the CBC or CTV and instead negotiated a two year, $1 million package with the Montreal advertising agency Bouchard, Champagne, Pelletier (BCP). As part of the deal, BCP agreed to handle the difficult business of negotiating coverage with the networks. The BCP arrangement brought Canadian football more money than it had ever received for television rights. Football executives were predictably pleased since their clubs received more money, the agency negotiated with the networks and did all the work and the clubs expected to get wider coverage for their games (Globe and Mail, July 24, 1964).

But the new BCP contract revived an old league problem; the western conference clubs demanded a share of television revenue whenever one of them played in the east. Ken Preston, general manager of the Saskatchewan Roughriders, declared there would not be a balanced league until there was some equality of revenue. Besides, he noted, most other sports shared television money. Big Four spokesman and Ottawa Rough Riders' president Barry O'Brien agreed a compromise was needed in order to save the interlocking schedule. But he pointed out that a compromise would take time to arrange. In the meantime, the western clubs would have to realize how important television revenues were to the Big Four clubs (Daily Star, October 7, 1964).

The BCP deal not only created more dissension between the two leagues in the Canadian Football League but it also threatened the telecasting of all games. At first the major issue was the control of closed circuit television rights. BCP did not purchase the closed circuit rights, which remained the property of the individual teams, and that was the stumbling block between the two networks, the CBC and CTV on the one side, and BCP on the other. The networks did not want BCP to sell them the television rights and to also sell to closed circuit companies (Telegram, January 27, 1965). Workman threw his financial support behind BCP as a co-guarantor to inspire their bidding for television rights because he wanted to break the monopoly the two networks had established. He pointed out that when the networks were television rights-holders they did not own or control rights on closed circuit. A network spokesman said in rebuttal that football could not have its cake and eat it too--they could not sell the television rights to the networks and then sell to closed circuit companies; the networks wanted complete control (Globe and Mail, January 29, 1965). Another stumbling block was the extension of the blackout area around cities in which televised games originated from seventy five to eighty five miles. The new contract with BCP called for an eighty five mile blackout area; the networks said it was an impossible situation and would not agree to it.

The dispute between BCP and the two networks lasted about six months. In February a two-man committee from the Western Football Conference (formerly the WIFU) met with the CBC's Ouimet to complain that the five year contract between the CBC and CTV to share football telecasts constituted an unfair restriction of trade. Al McEachern of Vancouver said: "As long as they agree to share football there is no incentive to bid for the rights. If someone else picks up the rights, they still have to deal with the networks" (Globe and Mail, February 12, 1965). The networks would not provide viewing time unless they had some control over pay television; they were worried that the pay television outlets would grow into serious competition unless they controlled it.

In June, Football Commissioner Sydney Halter said he felt the problems among BCP, its potential sponsors and the two television networks could be resolved. But the dispute wore on. BCP, in its deal with the CFL, agreed to pay a total of $1.82 million for the package: $475,000 to the Big Four; $260,000 to the Western Football Conference (WFC); and $175,000 for the Grey Cup game. In addition, BCP had to post guarantees with both the CBC and CTV to offset the cost of production, air time and line charges, which boosted the annual total to well over $2 million. The increased costs made it very difficult for BCP to find sponsors; without sponsors to pay the bills and the networks to televise the games, BCP and Canadian football would be in serious trouble. BCP needed the money and Canadian football needed the television exposure to retain a large national interest.

Near the end of July, a week or so before the first scheduled CFL game, both sides issued statements which explained their position and blamed the other side. The CBC and CTV said negotiations with BCP had broken down and that alternative programming had been scheduled. The CBC felt that BCP had not heeded the network's advice and paid too much for the rights and did not have sponsors to support them and pay the bills. Caldwell stated that CTV stations subsidized football when the network owned the rights but had no intention to do that when an advertising agency held the rights; the agency had to pay the stations' set rates like any other agency (Globe and Mail, July 20, 1965). A spokesman for BCP charged the networks with taking advantage of their monopoly; he pointed out that since the two networks signed their agreement in 1962 they tried to get the Grey Cup game for $25,000 less than it sold for the previous year. The Grey Cup went for $175,000 in 1962 and $165,000 in 1963. Meanwhile the CFL did not admit any concern over the possible loss of revenue in the event the television contract should not be fulfilled because the agency had already made a down payment of $100,000 and the balance was covered by a letter of credit. Noted sports columnist Jim

Coleman analyzed the situation in the following way:

> Messrs. Bouchard, et al., who committed themselves to pay about $910,000 to the Canadian Football League for the television rights to this season's games, already are as good as dead. They are the victims of a ruthless "squeeze-play," executed by those incongruous allies, the government-owned Canadian Broadcasting Corporation and the privately-owned Canadian Television Network, known as CTV.
>
> Messrs. Bouchard, et al., are almost certain to be fatalities unless the CBC and the CTV networks rescue them. The CBC and CTV won't toss any lifebelts to the sinking Messrs. Bouchard, et al. The CBC and CTV are much more likely to toss a thirty ton anvil to the struggling advertising agency. Canada's two television networks are sitting smugly on the bank, observing their victim's death throes. Later, when the corpse has been buried decently, the television networks will file a claim of the deceased's estate.
>
> You mark my words--Canadian League football games will be appearing on Canadian television networks within one week after Messrs. Bouchard, et al., disappear from the picture.
>
> THOUGHT FOR TODAY: How come the CBC suddenly has become so concerned about the Canadian taxpayers' money? The CBC complains that it loses money by televising Canadian League football games. How come, then, that the CBC carries American football games (NFL) on its network each Sunday? When is someone going to stand up in the House of Commons and ask how much of the taxpayers' money the CBC loses when it carries those American games? (Telegram, July 21, 1965).

Coleman's views were shared by fellow Toronto sports columnists, Milt Dunnell and Dick Beddoes. Coleman also proved correct. In August BCP surrendered the rights to all CFL games to CTV and the CBC in return for a financial settlement enabling the agency to recoup a sizable portion of its investment. Within a week CFL games were being shown coast-to-coast by both networks. The "winners" of the battle were football fans and the Canadian Football League which received its money either way. "The CFL can consider itself fortunate that other factions are willing to gamble big money, to preserve the image of football across the nation" (Globe and Mail, August 6, 1965).

In May 1966 the Eastern and Western Conferences of the Canadian Football League signed a three year contract with CTV. The Eastern Football Conference (EFC) received $1.425 million for the television rights to its games during the 1966 to 1968 period, which was the same amount the clubs had received in 1965 from BCP. The Western Football Conference (WFC) would say only that its rights were sold for just under a million dollars, the highest amount ever received by the WFC. Jake Gaudaur, chairman of the EFC's television committee, was pleased with the three year CTV agreement because it would provide continuity and enable both the network and the conference to improve the public presentation of Canadian professional football (Telegram, May 10, 1966). Though CTV had bought the rights, both networks televised the games; the CBC carried all Saturday games, CTV all the others. In past years, the two networks had shared important games but in 1968 each network decided to service only its own stations. Though colour television then existed most games were broadcast in black and white because of the lack of sufficient colour equipment and because the lights in most ball parks were inadequate for night time transmission.

On June 15, 1966 Gordon Keeble, the new president of CTV, wrote the CFL's commissioner and all the member clubs a letter stating what he thought the relationship between television and sport to be. In addition, he made some recommendations about what could be done to improve the relationship between the CFL and CTV:

> In recent years, television has become the biggest promoter of sports in history. It has also produced millions of dollars in rights fees for amateur and professional sports. Five years ago football and hockey were the mainstays of televised sports in Canada. Since that time curling, horse-racing, car rallies, rodeos, sports car racing, golf and others have started to establish beachheads in this medium.
>
> Regardless of these advances, we are convinced that football continues to be a sport of major interest to most Canadians. . . . Of all sports, football has experienced the longest and most successful association with this medium. As a result, fans now expect the best techniques in all television to come from football telecasts. The maintenance of these high standards--and the development of new techniques as the industry grows demands the combined efforts of both partners in this enterprise--the football leagues and the broadcasters (1966:1, 2).

Keeble's recommendations included regularizing game schedules, easing or lifting of blackouts and co-operating more closely on sponsorship, commercials, half-time shows and the television schedule. Keeble also suggested the formation of a working committee comprising the television chairman of each conference together with one or two television executives to study the problems or areas of concern of games' coverage. He waited for a response from the football executives.

Eight months later at the CFL's annual meeting in February, television, both Canadian and American, was a major topic of discussion. The sharing of Canadian television revenues had always been a bone of contention between the two conferences. Both conferences sold their own rights. The EFC, by that time, received $475,000 which it distributed four ways; the WFC earned only $225,000 which it had to distribute among five clubs. Unhappy that the eastern conference earned twice as much for its rights as it did, the western conference was continually threatening to cancel the interlocking schedule. The argument over revenues was also blocking the merger of the two conferences into one nine-way partnership. A key basis for forming one league was the equal sharing of television revenues. The idea of putting all the money in a pool and dividing it nine ways was rejected and instead the CFL adopted a formula which would permit all nine teams to share television revenues equally within ten years. In addition, officials at the meeting outlined an agreement with the American networks involving live coverage and taped showings of CFL games in the United States for roughly $75,000. Wrote Toronto sports writer Jim Proudfoot of the agreement: "It's the height of irony, really. Telecasts of U.S. big-league football are helping to kill the game in Canada, yet U.S. television is becoming a substantial source of revenue for the Canadian Football League" (Daily Star, February 22, 1967).

In 1967 the Canadian Football League also talked about time-outs and changing the commerical format. That year the league began interrupting play for commercial breaks. Previously sponsors had to superimpose their advertisements, usually of ten second duration, over the game. The sponsors were understandably receptive to the introduction of commercial breaks. Labatt's spokesman Rafe Engle said that the brief superimposed advertisements irritated the fans. "The advertiser wants to reach his audience. And he wants it receptive, and in a happy frame of mind" (Globe and Mail, December 12, 1967:37).

Both the CFL Commissioner Allan McEachern and the CFL executives realized that televised football would not exist without sponsorship and so did not complain about the commercial interruptions. The league's secretary-manager, Greg Fulton, was equally amenable to the change. He felt television had helped the game of football grow by bringing the game to many who would not otherwise see it and so creating a lot of new fans (Globe and Mail, December 12, 1967).

Though the CFL was formed in 1959, it was not until 1968 that the two conferences formed one league under one constitution. As in Canadian politics, there were a number of east-west differences to be reconciled, the main one being the sharing of television revenues. As mentioned earlier the CFL adopted a sharing formula at its 1967 annual meeting which would allow the two conferences to eventually share television revenues equally. The adoption of this formula set the stage for the union of the two conferences. Once they merged, the CFL took responsibility for selling the television football rights to both conferences on a national basis.

But just as the longstanding television rights feud was resolved and the two conferences confederated, another battle came to a head between the CFL and Canadian cable TV operators. The CFL was upset at the cable stations habit of pirating television signals from outside blackout areas and broadcasting the football game to viewers inside the blackout area. The CFL said this threatened its gate receipts and demanded that the pilfering stop. For example, when a game was played in Ottawa, the seventy five mile area around the city was blacked out so people in the area could not watch the game on television. What cable TV did was take a signal of the game from Montreal and then showed it to customers in the Ottawa area.

In November 1968, the CFL threatened to eliminate all football telecasts if cable TV continued its "theft." The CFL's lawyer appeared before the CRTC to oppose a series of cable TV licence applications. He urged the Commission to settle the dispute. After all, cable TV was considered part of broadcasting due to the Broadcasting Act of 1968 and so fell under the newly created CRTC's jurisdiction. CFL football was in a marginal economic position, argued the lawyer, and could ill afford the drop in gate receipts which could result from cable TV's pirating of signals. Wrote Gaudaur of the league's problem with cable TV: "I cannot see how, in these enlightened times, you can justify taking, free, a product manufactured at an annual cost in excess of $8,000,000, using it as a major vehicle to enhance your own product, to the eventual destruction of the producer" (Star, December 28, 1968).

But cable television operators had a different point of view. Gordon Henderson, president of Ottawa Cablevision Ltd., told the CRTC that he had no intention of stopping the transmissions of blacked out games. Indeed, he planned to extend the transmissions as a service to his subscribers. Cable coverage did not hurt stadium attendance, he argued. Rather it brought the game to viewers who might otherwise tune into Amercian football. It was up to the CFL, continued Henderson, to provide a product good enough to attract people to the stadium. CRTC chairman Pierre Juneau warned both the CFL and cable TV operators that a third party--the public--had to be considered in the case and "clearly implied that it would be the public interest--not the CFL's or the cable operators'--that would determine the commission's decision" (Daily Star, November 23, 1968).

While the CFL and cable operators argued before the CRTC, the CBC and CTV entered their bids for the 1969 CFL television rights, even though both networks thought the CFL a losing financial proposition. In an article in the Globe and Mail both John Malloy, director of television sales for the CBC, and Murray Chercover, president of CTV, suggested that CFL football was never a big commercial success because the cost of producing it outweighed advertising revenues. Said Malloy: "Football is a big expenditure because of the high cost to purchase the rights and the production costs and advertisers aren't completely sold" (August 13, 1968). Nevertheless both networks bid for CFL television rights. Chercover concluded: "We have to offer football even through economically it isn't a desirable vehicle. But no single network can afford the whole package" (August 13, 1968). In 1968 the two networks paid more than $1 million to the CFL for the right to televise seventy three league games (fifty one CTV, twenty two CBC) plus playoffs and the Grey Cup game. The total (unduplicated) audience ~~on~~ both CTV and the CBC for the 1968 Grey Cup was 9.6 million viewers (CBC Annual Report 1968-69).

But in 1969 the CFL rejected both the CBC and CTV's bids for the television rights and asked them to resubmit more favorable bids for a one year period only. The main problem was not money but the CFL's feud with cable television operators and the CFL's blackout policy. The CFL's eastern members would sign only a one year deal because they hoped the government would soon outlaw cable TV broadcasts of CFL games (Daily Star, February 13, 1969). In a speech to the Senate, Senator Keith Davey, the former commissioner of the CFL, called for a special committee to study mass media in Canada and advocated an end to the "ludicrous and antiquated system of blackouts. Any loss of gate revenue, again was certainly not an established fact, would be more than offset by expensive television sponsors' revenue" (Daily Star, February 5, 1969). Davey believed any decrease in attendance would be more than offset by the advantages of increased exposure, which would lead to greater advertising revenues. He stated that the CFL was frustrated by cable TV and in return an end of blackouts would frustrate cable TV.

In March the CRTC bowed out of the blackout issue by announcing that the disputants should resolve the dispute themselves (Globe and Mail, March 15, 1969). But neither side cared to negotiate, and the CFL balked at selling its television rights to the networks. Some football clubs stated they would sooner forego television revenue than have cable operators pilfering their games. Realistically an elimination of all television coverage would have been expensive--the EFC had a $475,000 contract in 1968, the WFC a $310,000 one and the CFL had a $190,000 contract for the Grey Cup game. Moreover, all CFL teams had to realize if CTV and the CBC could not show CFL football, the networks would pick up NFL games which in the long run would adversely affect spectator support of the CFL.

One month later the CFL signed a one year contract with CTV for a record $1.009 million. The games would again be televised on both networks; all Saturday and some Wednesday games on the CBC, all Sunday and most midweek games by CTV. It was considered a good television package even though the CFL schedule did not allow for as many televised dates as it had in 1968 (Telegram, April 19,1969). An understanding existed that when the problem with cable TV was solved, or at least controlled, then both the CFL and CTV would negotiate a multi-year contract (Globe and Mail, April 19, 1969).

In 1969, the CBC introduced a new type of football coverage called the "two-producer system." Successful in the United States the system consisted of one producer covering the basic game with three cameras and a second producer using two cameras to integrate videotape relays, slow motion footage and stop-action inserts into the basic coverage (CBC Memo, July 17, 1969). Wrote Al Sokol of Canadian television's coverage of CFL football: "No athletic event lends itself to television better than football; or at least, no other sport in the country has been refined and packaged as well as football. The advent of the isolated camera plus stop action and slow motion provides the armchair viewer with a seat on the roof, sideline, and huddle without moving an eyelid" (Telegram, August 1-8, 1969:4). In addition, the networks made greater use of colour--CTV originated twenty three colour telecasts and the CBC twenty one during the regular season.

But the CFL versus cable operators saga continued. In July 1969, CTV warned the four cable TV companies in Ottawa not to pirate that day's CFL game from a Montreal signal--the telecast was copyrighted, pointed out the network--CTV transmitted since the CRTC had chosen not to get involved. Commenting on the situation, Gordon Keeble, chairman of the board of CTV, said: "Nobody wants to see Canadian football destroyed and you can see the danger. If we can't reach some kind of agreement, the whole business will have to wind up in court" (Daily Star, July 31, 1969). The cable firms ignored the notice but notified CTV they would be happy to meet with Ottawa club officials to solve future problems (Globe and Mail, July 31, 1969). Ottawa club officials stated they would enforce a ban on home game television in 1970 if no satisfactory solution could be reached. Attendance at Ottawa games had dropped off and club officials blamed cable TV.

Finally on March 3, 1970, the CRTC decided to intervene after all and ordered cable TV operators to stop with its pirating of CFL telecasts and distributing them in the CFL blackout areas.

> The commission regrets that the various parties concerned have been unable to reach agreement in the past year on a form of cable television distribution which would make football games available as widely as possible without endangering the continuation or development of this sport in Canada.
>
> The commission is of the opinion that it must preserve the principle that programs are the most important factor to consider in making policy decisions.
>
> For these reasons, and in order to resolve the deadlock between the various parties, the commission has decided to impose a restriction on the importation by cable television of the Canadian Football League games in areas where local television stations are specifically blacked out (Globe and Mail, March 4, 1970:20).

The CFL applauded the decision; Commissioner Gaudaur said both the CFL and Canadian football fans would benefit. "The nine Canadian Football League teams will be able to command a higher price from television sponsors and the fans will see more games with the lifting of blackout restrictions" (Globe and Mail, March 4, 1970:20). Though some people in the western conference thought the CFL could prosper without television money or television exposure, Gaudaur disagreed: "I don't think football can do without either" (Globe and Mail, March 4, 1970:20).

Gaudaur's assessment proved correct for the next decade. He had been aware of the difficulties of the 1960s. The two leagues, television and the advertisers/sponsors had come to some feasible arrangements through a series of tough negotiations.

b. Hockey

While football's dealings with the two networks in the early 1960s were unstable, the NHL continued to enjoy a very stable and amicable relationship, it had begun with MacLaren Advertising and the CBC in the 1930s. When CFTO was awarded the Big Four football rights in 1961 some CBC officials worried the network would also lose the NHL Saturday night games (referred to for the first time in the CBC Annual Report 1960-61 as "Hockey Night in Canada") to CFTO. CFTO's co-owner Bassett, who was a director of both the Toronto Argonauts Football Club and Toronto Maple Leafs was believed to have the inside track in negotiations; as well, Foster Hewitt was the director of broadcasting for Maple Leaf Gardens and a large shareholder in CFTO. But Dennis Braithwaite wrote that the CBC's fear of losing "Hockey Night in Canada" were groundless, mainly because the hockey broadcasts had been with the same sponsor, Imperial Oil, for twenty five years (beginning with radio) and were a national institution. All parties involved were satisfied with the arrangement and wanted to keep it, particularly MacLaren Advertising. "The agency has found over the years that there are always storms of protest whenever any section of the country is deprived of Saturday night hockey games and is therefore inclined to favor keeping the games on the CBC network" (Globe and Mail, March 1, 1961).

Braithwaite was correct in his analysis. The parties involved, aware of hockey's importance to Canadians, knew it could be very detrimental to each of them if the Saturday telecasts were changed. Hence "Hockey Night in Canada" began its tenth season on television on October 14, 1961. Twenty four regular season games were covered on Saturdays, followed by coverage of Stanley Cup playoffs and, as in the past, Canadian viewers watched Toronto and Montreal games on an alternating basis.

Bassett, a strong believer in the important role sport played for both CFTO and CTV, stated:

> I got into hockey because in those days I was a director of the Maple Leaf Gardens--Conn Smythe was the boss. There was no hockey on Wednesday nights, just Saturdays. Imperial Oil were the sponsors and Bill Twaits, the President of Imperial Oil, was also a director of the Gardens. I asked Conn Smythe privately about Wednesday night games. He was a great believer in television and didn't believe in blackouts like the football people. He believed that television brought people into the Gardens.
>
> So Conn Smythe and Bill Twaits agreed to let me do Wednesday night hockey. We brought it up at a board meeting and he said OK and we started doing them. Then I questioned the starting time. The games came on at a fixed time on CBC, which meant that you picked up the television into the second period. So I started doing it when the game started and of course CBC had to follow.
>
> . . . At the time we did it, it was tremendously important to us (Bassett, 1982:7).

Two years later Stafford Smythe, president of Maple Leaf Gardens, created a furor when he warned of the possible discontinuance of home television coverage of NHL hockey games. Instead the games would be telecast on closed circuit in theatres across Canada, he predicted. Braithwaite said Smythe was simply interested in getting more money for television rights. He pointed out that the sponsors of "Hockey Night in Canada" were already paying as much as they could afford for the rights but if pushed by a large international closed circuit corporation, then free television coverage might come to an end. If hockey went to the theatres then football would be next (Globe and Mail, December, 1963). CTV's Caldwell said his network would continue coverage of NHL hockey and that he doubted if anyone connected with big league sports would seriously take an anti-television position; the medium had generated a great interest in sport, especially hockey. If home television coverage were terminated, a chain reaction would result and interest in big league sport would decline with a consequent rekindling of enthusiasm for junior, intermediate and senior amateur leagues. Home television hockey would continue, said Caldwell, for the following reasons:

> * The television industry needs hockey to boost its Canadian content of broadcasting to comply with Board of Broadcast Governors' regulations;
> * Professional hockey in movie houses might not survive against other kinds of hockey on television;
> * Radio and television had helped make big-league hockey profitable by bringing it out of the limit of local interest to a broad status as nation-wide family participation spectacle;
> * Any attempt to take hockey away from so many persons would cause a great commotion (Globe and Mail, December 18, 1963).

Caldwell's assessment of the situation was fairly accurate. CTV officials were actually going in the other direction, putting more hockey games on television (fourteen) and at an earlier time. For the first time NHL hockey telecasts started at 8:30 p.m. instead of the traditional 9:00 p.m., enabling viewers to see all of the second and third periods, instead of only the third period. In addition the network began showing both the regular Wednesday night games at Maple Leaf Gardens and Toronto Maple Leafs-Montreal Canadiens games from Montreal.

In 1964, Ford Motor Co. of Canada joined with Imperial Oil as a "Hockey Night in Canada" sponsor in the Atlantic provinces, excluding Newfoundland, and western Canada. Meanwhile, Molson Breweries Limited of Canada became a co-sponsor on the remainder of the CBC's network, Newfoundland, Ontario and Quebec. The two companies entered the picture to help meet the rising costs of television rights and hockey production.

Two years later hockey writers began raising questions about television and league expansion. In February 1966 the NHL governors met in New York to plot the expansion of the league from six to twelve teams. Ken McKee wrote that television was the "real" reason behind the expansion, specifically American television, and the increased revenues it promised. "The present group [NHL governors] cannot increase revenues much further without a major U.S. TV package. They hope that a coast to coast loop with representation in all or most major markets will grab some dollars from a field dominated by football, baseball and college sports" (Toronto Star, February 5, 1966).

That the NHL governors had their eyes on the huge audiences of the United States networks was evident in their choice of expansion cities; there was not a Canadian city chosen. This rebuff did not sit well with the

Canadian networks and sponsors who had supported NHL hockey for so many years. The Canadian public got its first indication of the NHL's sudden catering to the United States market during the 1966 Stanley Cup playoffs. The NHL and the National Broadcasting Company (NBC) agreed to televise five Stanley Cup playoff games on Sunday afternoons with the possibility of televising games in future seasons. What was noteworthy about this agreement was that the NHL had never before played a Stanley Cup game in the daytime but was willing to depart from tradition for the sake of American television and "big television money" (Daily Star, February 26, 1966). While the negotiations were going on with NBC, NHL President Clarence Campbell commented that the league was still committed to its current Canadian sponsors who paid for the coverage of night games on the two Canadian networks. It was not then known whether the Canadian sponsors would agree to shift one or more playoff games to Sunday afternoons (Daily Star, March 2, 1966).

Apparently the Canadian sponsors agreed because in the CBC's press release of March 30, 1966 the Sunday afternoon games were mentioned. Other interesting changes in hockey's television coverage were sparked by NBC's participation in the 1966 Stanley Cup playoffs, the first ever viewed by a national television audience in the United States. Semi-final games played on Sunday afternoons were broadcast in their entirety; in past years semi-final games were not televised until thirty minutes after the opening face-off. However, the night-time semi-final games on the CBC still commenced half an hour after the opening face-off. In addition, NHL games were telecast in colour for the first time. Observed writer Roy Shields: "What is ironical about NBC's participation is that in the finals, CBC crews in either Toronto or Montreal will use the U.S. network's colour cameras, sending a colour picture to the United States and a black and white one to Canadian viewers" (Daily Star, April 2, 1966).

Reactions to the NBC-inspired format and scheduling changes varied. Some feared the expansion into six more American cities would render hockey too United States oriented, turning it into an afternoon sport like other American sports. Others worried the revenue from American television would take precedence over anything the Canadian networks and sponsors could offer. Braithwaite, writing in the Globe and Mail, commented that Canadians had to accept the inevitability of hockey's Americanization, "this may upset certain cosy arrangements here and perhaps fan a few nationalist coals; . . . In professional sport, as in other fields, our production exceeds the demands of the domestic market. Economic integration is the ticket, and in this we are lagging behind, especially in sports" (April 7, 1966).

As Braithwaite suggested, NBC's coverage of the Stanley Cup semi-finals upset a few people and raised a number of issues. Technically, hockey in colour was a big improvement over black and white and Canadians wondered when they too would see their favorite sport in colour. Though NBC's commentary and camera work were "by Canadian standards poor" complaints nonetheless arose about the CBC's and MacLaren's commentary and camera work. On Canadian commentary: "I've been appalled for years at the failure of Canadian television to develop commentators who can grasp the idea that the viewer can see what they're describing, or supposed to be describing" (Telegram, April 15, 1966). On Canadian camera work: ". . . they keep the camera on the puck, but that doesn't mean it's on the action. You can always see where the puck is, but seldom where it's going. Most of the time a pass is made you don't see the intended receiver or what sort of situation he's in until he's either grabbed or lost it" (Telegram, April 15, 1966).

Another issue which surfaced during the 1966 Stanley Cup playoffs concerned control over the content of hockey broadcasts. A MacLaren agent's decision not to show the videotaped highlights of a first period fight at intermission sparked the question. An editorial in the Daily Star accused the CBC of surrendering far too much authority to the advertising agencies representing hockey's sponsors. But in reality the CBC never had any rights over intermission; that had always belonged to MacLaren. However, MacLaren, the CBC and the NHL usually met before the playoffs to discuss intermission content and possible guests. "But the fact is, the agency doesn't need much prodding. Its job is to keep everybody happy, but in these valiant efforts the viewers have the lowest priority" (Globe and Mail, April 18, 1966). Nothing was resolved at that time but it was another criticism of MacLaren Advertising, the CBC and their hockey coverage.

In 1967 MacLaren and, indirectly, the CBC and CTV were once again criticized by sports writers for their NHL coverage. Sports editor, Jim Hunt, wrote in the Star Weekly that despite "Hockey Night in Canada's" status as the most popular television show in Canada, the broadcast had grown old and tired and was not good television. Hunt complained of the lack of imagination in camera work, the announcers' play-by-play commentary and the overall lacklustre presentation of the game. Indeed, the coverage format had not changed since 1952. He suggested the network initiate techniques and imaginative camera work used in NFL football telecasts. But Hunt pointed out that MacLaren, which had complete responsibility for "Hockey Night in Canada," and its sponsors were happy with the show and so would not change it unless convinced there was a better way to cover hockey (Star Weekly, February 18, 1967).

Before the Stanley Cup playoffs in mid-March, CTV carried five games of the world hockey championships from Vienna, Austria, on a tape delay basis. The network had originally planned to telecast the games in colour, but the International Ice Hockey Federation would not permit it because, insisted the federation, the extra lights needed for a colour production endangered the ice surface. The decision was a heartbreaking one for Johnny Esaw, CTV's vice president sports. His network and sponsors had spent a great deal of money preparing to telecast the tournament in colour. The network still carried the games, but in black and white (Globe and Mail, March 18, 1967).

When the 1967 Stanley Cup playoffs rolled around, this time it was CBS, not NBC, which influenced the NHL to change its schedule and coverage. CBS paid $600,000 to cover the 1967 playoffs and $1.5 million for each of the next two seasons. The NHL signed a contract with the American network stating there would be no Saturday night or Sunday games in the best-of-seven Stanley Cup final; any weekend game would be played on Saturday afternoon beginning at 1:35 p.m. eastern time. There were changes to coverage as well. Clarence Campbell agreed to include deliberate time-outs, but only on the understanding that the possibility of needing them was remote and that none would be injected at crucial moments of play. The NHL co-operated with CBS for two reasons: it wanted more money and, more important, it wanted to expose the game to non-hockey-minded audiences through CBS's 200-odd U.S. stations (Weekend Magazine, April 1, 1967).

The next season, after years of requests and pleading from fans, the CBC and CTV announced that all NHL games during the regular 1968-69 hockey season and play-offs would be televised live and in colour from the opening face-off. It had taken sixteen years for the NHL to allow whole games to be shown to Canadians. As mentioned earlier the CBC's coverage did not start until one hour after the game's start. During the 1968-69 season the CBC offered twenty five Saturday night games and CTV nineteen Wednesday night games. The CBC's Saturday telecast regularly drew the biggest weekly audiences (about 3.6 million viewers) which placed it at the top along with the "Ed Sullivan Show." In 1969 the Eastern Division final between the Montreal Canadiens and the Boston Bruins drew the CBC's largest audience that year--8.6 million viewers (6.2 on the English network and 2.4 million of the French network). Audiences for other playoff games ranged from 3.5 to 5.4 million viewers on the CBC's English network and from 1.7 to 2.3 million on its French network (CBC Annual Report 1969-70).

The CBC and CTV were now giving the hockey fans what they wanted--more NHL hockey--but the NHL, at its fall meeting in 1968, was not very generous to the Canadian networks, particularly the CBC. League executives stated that in any disagreement between the CBC and CBS over games and scheduling, the league would settle in favor of CBS; "the league will endeavor to schedule dates and times to meet the broadcast requirements of the dominant broadcast of any game. . . . In order of priority, a network had priority over a local broadcast and that the size of a network, if more than one was involved, would be a deciding factor" (Globe and Mail, September 25, 1968). But the NHL's "gamble" to increase its American audience failed for two reasons--Americans simply were not interested in hockey, and the Canadian ratings dropped.

In summary, Canada's most important television sport, hockey, underwent several changes during the 1960s. For example: Imperial Oil was no longer the NHL's sole Canadian television sponsor; the telecast starting time gradually moved from late in the first period to the opening face-off; the league expanded from six to twelve teams; commentators provided insights into the game instead of just offering opinions in a "Hot Stove League" style; and the lure of the advertisers/sponsors' dollars in the United States influenced the time slot into which hockey was placed.

The relationship among sports, television and advertisers/sponsors in the 1960s continued to evolve amicably. Changes made in the telecasts generally satisfied all parties. However, hockey and football were not the only sports telecast in the 1960s.

c. General

Both the CBC and CTV expanded their sports programming during the 1960s to include a variety of sports other than CFL football and NHL hockey. For example, the CBC covered World Series baseball, the Canadian and American 'Triple Crown' of horse-racing, the National Football League Final, the English Football Association Cup Final, the Oxford-Cambridge Boat Race, the World Hockey Championships, the Olympics, and the Canadian Curling Championships (CBC Annual Report 1960-61).

In 1961 the CBC attempted to meet the public's seemingly insatiable demand for sports and filled the programming "hole" left by its loss of the Big Four football rights with a new program called "World of Sport," sponsored by Carling Breweries. The series was the largest sports package ever arranged for Canadian television up to that time. It carried a variety of sports events every week of the year and was the forerunner of sports magazine programs like the CBC's "Kaleidoscope," which began in 1967, "SportsWeekend" (1980s) and CTV's "Wide World of Sport" (mid-1960s on). "World of Sport" first aired Saturday, April 8, 1961 and covered top sporting events from around the world. It broadcast major horse races, intercollegiate football, professional football, rowing, major league baseball, international soccer, sports-car racing, track and field, sailing regattas, golf, curling, bowling, tennis, skiing, skating, and world hockey (CBC Annual Report 1961-62).

Two sports which were regularly televised on this series were curling and golf. "Cross-Canada Curling" programs originated from production centres in Toronto, Halifax and Winnipeg; television coverage consisted of sixty minutes of videotaped highlights of rinks playing full ten end games. Program co-ordinator, Bob McLaughlin, introduced new curling coverage techniques in 1963: overhead cameras were installed for unobstructed shots of rocks entering the house, two ground-level cameras picked up action on the ice, curlers' names were superimposed on the screen so the viewer would know who was doing what, and the score after each end was indicated for the first time. In golf, usually the final rounds of play, with cameras and commentators, on the last four or five holes were shown live on the network. In January 1962, a new hour long golf series called "Shell's Wonderful World of Golf" was begun. It showed matches between internationally-known professional golfers held on eleven of the world's most famous, picturesque and challenging courses.

The next year, as part of the CBC's "World of Sport" series, a number of special sports attractions were shown, including live coverage of both major league baseball All-Star Games, the entire 1962 World Series, filmed coverage of the British Empire and Commonwealth Games from Perth, Australia, highlights of the World Hockey tournament and of the Scotch Cup curling matches (CBC Times, September 14, 1962). In December the CBC started another new hour long golf series, "CBC Championship Golf," which included seven programs of medal-play (total strokes) competition. In 1962 CTV covered figure skating for the first time.

Professional golf was popular on television, hence the CBC covered the major PGA events as well as its own tournament. "CBC Championship Golf" entered its second season in 1963. One of the largest CBC television film units ever assembled was used for its filming (CBC Times, December 7-13, 1963). There was a producer, sportscaster and a thirteen man film unit consisting of four cameramen, four assistant cameramen, four sound recorders and a lighting man. Camera platforms were fitted to motorized golf carts so the crews could film tee-off shots then race ahead of the players to set up for the next sequence. One camera filmed the first tee shot, a second was positioned on the fairway and a third at the green. Each of the four film crews averaged approximately fourteen positions around the course. The crews filmed 201 holes of golf, travelled more than 420 miles around the course at Jasper Park Lodge and shot some 75,000 feet of film in order to make an eleven hour show.

During the next few years both networks continued to telecast a wide variety of sports events. In 1966 the relationship between sport and television was examined by two sports writers who debated the question "Has Television Doomed Sport?" in the Edmonton Journal. Don Fleming argued against television: "Don't call TV the greatest thing to happen to sport since turnstiles were invented. Sports promoters in their short-sighted greed may permit television to give them the veritable kiss of death" (June 11, 1966). Fleming said television had ruined minor league baseball and hockey and adversely affected attendance at CFL games. He predicted the day would come when people would not bother going to major league parks because they could stay home and watch television. A television diet of sport was not to Fleming's taste: "Some sports you see too much. Other sports, like the major team offerings, result in frustration. You see only what the cameraman gets for you. It's all he can do to keep up with the play, let alone anticipate what's going to happen, which is most of the fun." Alex Hardy, on the other hand, thought television and sport were great partners. "Television sells sport and sport helps sell television. It is a natural affinity." Hardy cited how television had helped popularize golf and auto racing. He forecast that television would create interest in dozens of other sports by simply introducing them to millions of potential fans. As for the CFL, television had encouraged stadium attendance by whetting fan's appetites. He thought complaints about television's partial coverage of game action was nonsense: "Television brings the fan at home so many extras, such as the isolated camera and instant replay. TV uses hand-held cameras for close-ups, and scoring plays are re-run at intermission so they can be analyzed. . . . The fan in the stands gets none of this." Of course, the debate decided nothing but it did examine once again the relationship between sport and television.

Six months later in December 1966 the CBC inaugurated a new kind of television curling called "Championship Curling." The curlers were the eleven rinks which competed in the previous year's Canadian Men's Curling Championship. The ten week series was a knockout competition consisting of two different types of curling: a regular eight end game and then a points game in which each curler attempted a prescribed shot. The winning rink of the regular game received five points, the shots were scored one, two or three points, depending on the degree of accuracy. At the end the scores were totalled. The highest scoring rink moved on in the draw. Gordon Craig, then-producer of the program, explained its rationale was to make curling more exciting to watch. "This system should eliminate the problem of lopsided scores, where competition is virtually through after five or six ends. Now, the loser of the straight game still has a chance to win on the prescribed shots" (CBC Memo, November 24, 1966:2). The series replaced "Cross-Canada Curling," which was on the CBC for six seasons.

In 1967 both positive and negative things happened to the relationship between sport and television. On the positive side, the CBC introduced a new sports variety program, "Kaleidosport," and staged its largest project ever, the 1967 Pan American Games in Winnipeg (which will be discussed later in this chapter). The CBC again covered major league baseball's All-Star game and the World Series live and in colour. There were only six regular season Saturday afternoon Games of the Week because of the CBC's live coverage of Canadian sports events such as the Pan American Games and CFL football. CTV covered the World Hockey Championships from Austria and continued its "Wide World of Sport" program. Both networks began telecasting NHL hockey, CFL football and all of the sports events in colour, a first for Canadian television.

On the negative side, deliberate time-outs for television commercials were attacked during a May 1967 telecast of a professional soccer game on CBS. A referee was charged with calling ten false fouls in a Toronto-Pittsburgh game in order to provide time for commercials. The league policy was to introduce commercials at natural breaks in play such as corner kicks, after goals and injuries. The referee halted play for a commercial whenever he heard the beep-beep of an electronic device strapped on his back. The controversy highlighted how difficult it was to find appropriate times for commercial breaks in fast and fluid games like soccer and hockey. A NHL spokesman stated that in hockey the two linesmen carried small receivers which allowed them to extend time for television commercials but at no time did television dictate when a commercial went in; the league's only accommodation to advertisers was to extend normal stoppages in play, such as player penalties, by ten to fifteen seconds. In order to avoid any more problems with deliberate time-outs in soccer the National Professional Soccer League instituted a policy governing time-outs for television commercials. It basically stated that all time-outs called by the referee to accommodate television commercials had to be clearly indicated to the spectators and television audience. The time-outs were limited to those occasions when a ball was kicked out of bounds at the goalline or when a player was legitimately injured and a trainer had to come on the field (Globe and Mail, May 16, 1967).

Despite the time-out controversy many sports people said television had generally "helped" their sport. In an article entitled "The Sport That Television Built," author Glen Wookcock wrote that golf had been built by television; "This isn't to say big-time golf didn't exist before the late 1950s, but television didn't hurt any in creating millions of new fans, not to mention the dollars it put into the pockets of the participants" (Telegram, September 1-8, 1967:2). In 1967 all three American networks paid millions of dollars to televise the big golf tournaments; one of those tournaments, the $200,000 Carling World tournament, was played in Toronto in September. CBS had exclusive rights to the television coverage, and the CBC picked up its footage from the American network. This would have been the richest tournament in Canadian history except that Montreal, not to be outdone by Toronto, added another $100,000 into the Canadian Open championship in late June to make the total purse on par with Toronto's Carling. Television did more than boost golf prize money; it changed the presentation of golf to viewers. Before, fans were told how many pars, birdies and bogeys the leaders had; now, with the help of a computer, viewers were informed of many more facts, including who hit which greens in regulation and the average scores each player took on the televised holes (Telegram, September 1, 8, 1967). The telecasts, live and in colour, covered the action on the five finishing holes on the final two days of the tournament.

The CBC used fourteen colour cameras to cover the Canadian Open championship in June in Montreal. There was live coverage on the final two days of play and it was seen on "CBC Sports Presents." The next year, 1968, the CBC used nineteen cameras (sixteen colour) to cover the five finishing holes during the final two days of the tournament. Saturday's coverage was interrupted for about twenty minutes while the CBC brought viewers the 109th running of the Queen's Plate live and in colour from Toronto's Woodbine Race Course. It was the fifteenth year the CBC had covered the prestigious Queen's Plate. "Shell's Wonderful World of Golf" returned to the CBC for a sixth season and brought with it techniques like split-screen and slow motion photography in the analysis of difficult shots (CBC Times, December 31-January 6, 1967).

In 1968, for the first time in its thirty nine year history major league baseball's classic All-Star game was played at night instead of the afternoon. In an experiment two years earlier the All-Star game had been played in the late afternoon in California, which meant it was seen in the early evening throughout most of North America. The late afternoon game drew a vastly increased television audience, leading to speculation that soon some World Series games would be scheduled in the evening (CBC Memo, June 10, 1968).

As the NHL finished its regular season and professional baseball prepared for its new one in March 1968, the CBC went all out in its curling coverage (CBC Memo, February 20, 1969), providing exclusive colour coverage of the Canadian Curling Championships, its own "CBC Championship Curling" and the World Curling Championships. During the Canadian Championships the

CBC carried nightly taped highlights of the day's play, interviews with winning rinks and live coverage of any matches still in progress from 11:40 p.m. to midnight. The coverage of the final match of "CBC Championship Curling" was extended from the normal sixty minutes to ninety minutes on Saturday, March 8. It was immediately followed by a special two hour review of the highlight's of the 1969 Brier. Two weeks later the CBC carried the final match of the World Curling Championships in Perth, Scotland live and in colour via satellite. Curling fans were thrilled with all the coverage.

March 1969 was also a big month for the CBC and professional baseball. The network signed a deal with Canada's newest professional team, the Montreal Expos, for coverage of a limited number of home and away baseball games in the team's first season. The CBC agreed to carry fifteen games, with an additional six games to be telecast only on the CBC's French network. Of the twenty one games, fifteen were aired during prime time on Wednesday nights, four on Sunday afternoons and two weekday season openers. The O'Keefe Brewing Company covered 50% of the twenty one game schedule's cost; the CBC and the Expos subsidized the rest until other sponsors were found. Estimates were sponsors paid $500,000 for 15 games and an additional $100,000 for the six games only on the French network (Globe and Mail, March 6, 1969). The English network also carried twelve regular season games not involving the Expos on Saturdays, the mid-season All-Star game and the World Series. Broadcasts of the Expos games proved popular on the CBC's French network, regularly drawing audiences of up to 1 million viewers (CBC Annual Report 1969-70).

With curling over for the season and the Canadian professional sports teams in the midst of television rights negotiations, the Canadian Interuniversity Athletic Union (CIAU) signed an agreement with the CBC giving the network exclusive Canadian television rights to all major university athletic events for the next ten years, beginning April 1969. Under the agreement, the CBC would be able to televise the popular sports of football, hockey and basketball along with swimming, soccer, lacrosse, tennis, wrestling, golf and track and field. R.G. Hunka, then-network supervisor of the CBC television sports said: "Now that this national governing body for university athletics is a fact, CBC television sports is most enthusiastic at having this completely different field of sporting events to present to Canadian viewers" (CBC Memo, September 9, 1968). There was no mention of how much the CBC paid the CIAU for television rights but the revenue was probably considered secondary to the national exposure university sport would receive on the CBC.

During the 1960s all sports became aware of how television could promote their popularity and generate revenue for their participants. Meanwhile, television executives grew to rely upon sport to fulfill its Canadian content requirements and attract large audiences. During this decade amateur sports joined the sports television partnership. The partnership between the television networks and major multi-sports events like the Olympics, British Empire and Commonwealth Games and Pan American proved to be highly successful and popular.

d. Major International Sporting Events and Canada's Second Major International Multi-Sport Project.

During the 1950s one of the largest undertakings by the CBC was the broadcasting of the Fifth British Empire and Commonwealth Games in 1954 from Vancouver. A success, it set the stage for future CBC coverage of major international multi-sport games both at home and away. During the 1960s the

CBC and CTV networks televised the 1960, 1964 and 1968 Winter and/or Summer Olympics as well as the 1967 Pan American Games. Each one was covered in a uniquely different way, mainly because of the technological advances made during the eight years and also because of the increasing importance of the Olympic Games.

In 1960 the Olympic organizing committee charged a fee for television rights for the first time; from this revenue the two organizing committees paid a modest contribution, which was divided equally between the IOC and the International Federations. For the 1960 Winter Olympics in Squaw Valley in the United States, the CBC picked up CBS programs on the various events and scheduled a series of fifteen minute taped excerpts of Games highlights to be carried on the network at 11:30 p.m. each evening. The taped telecast of the opening ceremonies of the Games was impressive: "Real events, particularly when they take place outdoors, always give the television a chance to demonstrate its unique scope and immediacy" (Daily Star, February 8, 1960). There were problems, however, with Canadians receiving the one event most of them wanted to see, the Canada-U.S.S.R. hockey game. The Olympic officials sold the exclusive television rights to CBS, thus giving the American network control over the telecast of the hockey game between the United States and the U.S.S.R. There was nothing the CBC could do about it, Canadian viewers had to listen to "their" game on the radio (Daily Star, February 10, 1960).

The CBC's daily coverage improved a bit for the 1960 Summer Olympics in Rome, Italy. Once again through the facilities of CBS, the CBC televised a thirty minute summary each night of the Games excluding Sunday. CBS made arrangements to fly select videotape recordings of each day's events to Idlewild Airport in New York where a mobile transmission unit had been installed to televise the program on a same-day basis. The CBC provided approximately six hours of television coverage of the Games and more than eleven hours on radio.

In 1964 CTV stepped into the Olympic Games coverage by purchasing from ABC the rights for exclusive Canadian coverage of the 1964 Winter Olympics in Innsbruck, Austria. The CBC had flatly refused to pay ABC $100,000 for sixteen hours of videotape, enabling CTV to try and negotiate a better deal with ABC. As had CBS in 1960, ABC chartered a jet plane to carry videotapes of the events to New York every day. The tapes were edited aboard the specially equipped aircraft during the seven hour flight, providing North American viewers with same day coverage. Using ABC's videotapes, CTV scheduled a total of nine and a half hours of prime time Games programming over a thirteen day period; six programs, including two Sunday afternoon telecasts of two hours apiece appeared on CTV, five of them containing hockey coverage.

The 1964 Summer Olympics in Tokyo were a major milestone in Canadian Olympic broadcasting. The CBC had the exclusive Canadian television rights to the Games and it put forth its biggest effort ever in telecasting a major international sporting event from abroad. As Don MacPherson, current head of the CBC Sports, pointed out, "it was the first start of a commitment from the CBC to look at the Olympic Games and to cover them" (1985:4). The corporation sent a record number of twenty nine people in its broadcasting crew of producers, commentators and a videotape editor from both the English and French networks to Tokyo for the preparation of special programs and inserts into regular news and sportscasts. NHK, the Japanese government broadcasting company, provided all technical facilities, did all the camera work and transmitted each day from eight of the competition sites; the CBC was able to select four sites provided it gave NHK twenty four hours notice. The CBC and other foreign broadcasting crews chose from the daily videotapes and put together shows featuring the sports in which Canadians had the greatest medal hopes--track and field and swimming. The CBC put together a series of half hour programs on the Games each day and two special programs on "Telescope." In addition, it covered the opening and closing ceremonies live. MacPherson thought one of the reasons the CBC covered the Games so thoroughly in 1964 was because Canada was starting to produce well-known and internationally competitive athletes, such as Bill Crothers and Harry Jerome. Furthermore MacPherson stated, "sport is as much good drama as it is a sporting event; there is a great deal of drama and emotion built into it. It also had its journalistic aspects as well--this was a major event and Canada was a Pacific Rim partner" (1985:6). Several sponsors financed the CBC telecasts: Beecham Products, Chrysler Canada, Peter Jackson Tobacco and General Foods.

The Tokyo Olympics represented the first "all-electronic" Games for the CBC; the CBC videotaped the Games and sent all the programs to Canada via satellite (the U.S. communication satellite, Syncom III). Up until that time, the film or videotape had always been flown home daily via commercial airlines and then televised nationally, in most cases, the next day. "It was the advent of the 1964 Games where we were satelliting back and putting on daily programs and larger programs. They weren't live because of the time zone difference, but they were hot because they had just happened" (Goodwin, 1982:25).

The Syncom III satellite had been launched in mid-August by NASA (National Aeronautics and Space Administration) into a stationary orbit over the Pacific. During the Games signals were transmitted from the Kashima

Ground Station fifty miles northeast of Tokyo via Syncom III to the Naval Missile Centre at Point Mugu, California. While Syncom beamed home the picture part of the signal, an ABC cable under the ocean carried the sound. The picture arrived after the sound because the sound only had to travel 5,000 miles compared to 22,000 miles up into the stratosphere and back for the picture. In San Diego sound and picture were reunited (MacPherson, 1985). Videotapes of the transmission were then jetted from Point Mugu (San Diego) to Toronto and Montreal for telecast later the same day. If any technical difficulties arose, the CBC had made arrangements to fly the videotapes from Japan to Canada for viewing the next day (CBC Times August 8-24, 1964). The CBC also co-operated with the European Broadcasting Union (EBU) to ensure European viewers same-day coverage of the Games. The EBU signal was received at Point Mugu and then moved via microwave circuit to Montreal airport, where a CBC remote unit videotaped it and then sent it by Air Canada to Hamburg (Globe and Mail, August 7, 1964).

The Japanese proved very inventive in the technical aspects of their coverage. One of their innovations was the slow motion instant replay. Most networks used a form of instant replay, but at the 1964 Olympics, the Japanese became the first to provide instant replays in slow motion in essentially the same way that it is used today (Goodwin, 1982).

Four years later, in 1968, the CBC radio and television crews went to the Winter Olympics in Grenoble, France. The CBC's coverage consisted mainly of black and white videotaped highlights of the previous day's events. There were nineteen English network telecasts carried at various times of the day and night. All telecasts were sent via satellite. ABC bought the American television rights to the Games for $2 million and paid another $450,000 to transmit twenty seven hours of coverage via the Early Bird Satellite for same-day transmission of events. The network's officials claimed it would present the most comprehensive colour telecast of an athletic event in history. Indeed, most of it was broadcast live except the bobsled events which, the racers had insisted, be rescheduled from the assigned prime time evening slot to the early morning because of weather problems (Globe and Mail, February 14, 1968).

ABC made a number of technological advances in its Olympic coverage. One was the Flash Unit, a helicopter equipped with two colour cameras and a tape machine which moved from site to site within minutes. Aerial pictures were transmitted by microwave directly to the satellite ground station, then via satellite and telecasted live in North America. Other technological advances included:

> * A special colour slow motion, stop-action instant replay process to highlight outstanding individual performances.
> * A split-screen technique that utilized colour "slow-mo" to show competitors head and head even though they were not competing simultaneously.
> * A development showing the TV audience the "time to beat" in a given event. Another timing improvement was that the competitor's time on the TV screen was the same as the official time (Telegram, February 2-9, 1968).

These technical advancements were exciting. The CBC, for its part, entered a new dimension in Games coverage as it used a satellite to beam home daily programs to Canada in reasonably prime time (Craig, 1984).

After the Games the CBC reported that its television coverage of the Olympics had been received with great enthusiasm by Canadians. Audiences ranged from about 1.75 million viewers in mid-evening hours to about 250,000 viewers for some late-night broadcasts. The peak level of the index of audience enthusiasm, 90 (out of 100), was recorded for the network telecast which covered women's giant slalom and the presentation of the silver medal to Nancy Greene. The average index of audience enjoyment for nineteen telecasts was a high 82 compared with the average index of 72 for all network programs during the 1967-68 season (CBC Memo, March 20, 1968).

A sixty nation international telecommunications satellite consortium decided to launch a new spacecraft in time to assure commercial television coverage of the October 1968 Summer Olympics at Mexico City, Mexico (Daily Star, January 8, 1968). Unfortunately in September the Atlantic III, which was to have been the first in a global network of new switchboard satellites linking most of the world, failed to reach its orbit and exploded in midair. The $11 million Olympic telecast plan was ruined. Networks like the CBC were forced to rely on the existing Applications Technology Satellite III which meant the picture on the viewers' television screens probably was not as clear as it might have been (Daily Star, September 19, 1968).

The CBC sent a large contingent to the Mexico Summer Games. Coverage for both the English and French networks consisted of live telecasts of the opening and closing ceremonies and extensive live coverage of all important events in which Canadians competed. In addition, both networks carried daily one hour highlights of each day's events. More than thirty hours of colour coverage, between 65% and 75% of it live was carried on the CBC during prime time. The CBC crews and equipment were able to cover six events simultaneously on both radio and television and had access to a total of eighty one colour cameras thanks to special pooling arrangements. The CBC needed a large budget to finance the transmission, "[this] indicates that the Olympics are held in high regard by top CBC executives as 'national interest' programming. . . . The main point, however, must be viewer interest and this is where the Canadian athlete comes in. If they make the finals, they'll create viewer interest" (Star TV Week, September 28, 1968).

Coverage of the 1968 Games was arranged differently than that of previous games because Mexico did not have enough broadcasting equipment of its own. Hence ABC was named the host broadcaster. The CBC arranged with ABC to send manpower and equipment to Mexico in exchange for the right to carry the Games; so the CBC paid next to nothing for its television rights that year. It was a standing joke that the CBC had almost as many people at the Games (106 plus 23 contracted out to ABC) as Canada had athletes (135). But as the CBC officials pointed out, some of these people were working for ABC in Mexico and not the CBC and ABC paid all their per diems, salaries and so forth, up to the value that was placed on the rights at that time (Sheehan, 1980).

Altogether some 8.8 million viewers watched some part of the CBC's Olympic programming (6.8 million on the English television network). Numbers for individual broadcasts varied from 2.6 million in peak viewing hours to under 500,000 for some late night broadcasts. The lowest index of audience enjoyment was a high 80 and it gradually built to a peak of 90 (CBC Annual Report 1968-69). The CBC's coverage of the Olympics cost $930,000 and the network received only $231,000 back through advertising revenues. In the final count the CBC coverage amounted to 161.75 hours of live and taped radio and television coverage on the English, French and international networks (Globe and Mail, January 16, 1969).

As well as covering five of the six Olympic Games during the 1960s the CBC covered the 1962 and 1966 British Empire and Commonwealth Games in Perth, Australia and in Kingston, Jamaica respectively. The CBC's coverage of the Games in Perth consisted of three filmed half hour highlights shows. There were complaints that the corporation showed partiality because each show featured only track and field and swimming (Globe and Mail, December 19, 1962). In 1966 the CBC sent three film crews to Jamaica. Daily reports were sent back to Canada and one week after the closing ceremonies the CBC aired a two hour documentary on the Games (Craig, 1984).

But by far the most comprehensive coverage of a major international multi-sport games in the 1960s by a Canadian network was the CBC's handling of the 1967 Pan American Games in Winnipeg, Manitoba. In February 1966 the CBC signed an agreement giving it the exclusive television rights to the fifth Pan American Games held from July 22-August 7, 1967. The CBC was also named the official television production agency which meant that the network which purchased the United States and/or world broadcast rights picked up its feed from the CBC. As well the CBC established radio production facilities for visiting broadcasters.

The CBC wanted to give the Pan American Games the most complete coverage ever attempted at a sporting event in Canada. More than 2,400 athletes from twenty four countries participated in the Games, which were the subject of between forty and fifty hours of broadcasts on the CBC English radio and television networks. They were also covered on the CBC French network and fed to United States, Central and South American networks. As for equipment, the CBC had gone all out:

> Thirty-one [34] television cameras--including 18 [20] colour models--will be used on the games by the 13 [9] producers involved. There will also be three black and white mobile units, two black and white video tape cruisers and two colour video tape cruisers. The colour cameras are new models, extremely portable and operating in groups of two for fast mobile coverage. Technicians will install master control units and radio and television studios in the Minto Armories [Figure 6] to control the output from athletic events in 13 different locations.

> Television's emphasis, in colour, will be on track and field events, swimming, rowing, gymnastics and tennis. The new Pan-Am swimming pool has been equipped with underwater windows and lighting for underwater filming, adding unusual camera angles to the overall coverage. Black and white camera units will be stationed at the Winnipeg Auditorium for wrestling, boxing and weightlifting and at Alexander Park for soccer. Mobile units and video tape cruisers will roam the area covering field hockey, yachting, cycling, judo, shooting, fencing, basketball, baseball and volleyball (Centennial Commission, March 10, 1967:28).

Television coverage included a half-hour highlights program each evening at 5:30 p.m. EDT and 10:30 p.m. EDT, special two hour programs on the weekends; and live colour coverage of the opening and closing ceremonies. Len Casey, then-executive producer for the CBC, said the CBC's coverage included every official sport and, in a Canadian television first, a slow motion, stop action colour VTR machine was used to analyze athletes' performances (CBC Memo, July 13, 1967). There were eleven VTR machines used to record, playback and edit the video feed from the various sites for both French and English networks, as well as international broadcasters.

But not everyone was pleased with the CBC's coverage of the Pan American games. The CBC's financial administrators were upset by the Games' rising costs. An article in the Daily Star stated that the budget, originally set at $1.1 million, had risen to $2 million by July 17th and probably would go higher. Some of the CBC's expenditures were questioned. For example, the CBC sent 450 people to cover the Games. It rented an entire hotel to accommodate them and it installed air-conditioning into Minto Armoury for $50,000 (July 17, 1967). Despite the critics the Games were considered a big success. "This was the first electronic games for CBC. So it was very successful--very straight forward and fairly simple. I don't remember any innovations or new gimmicks there. It was the fact of doing it

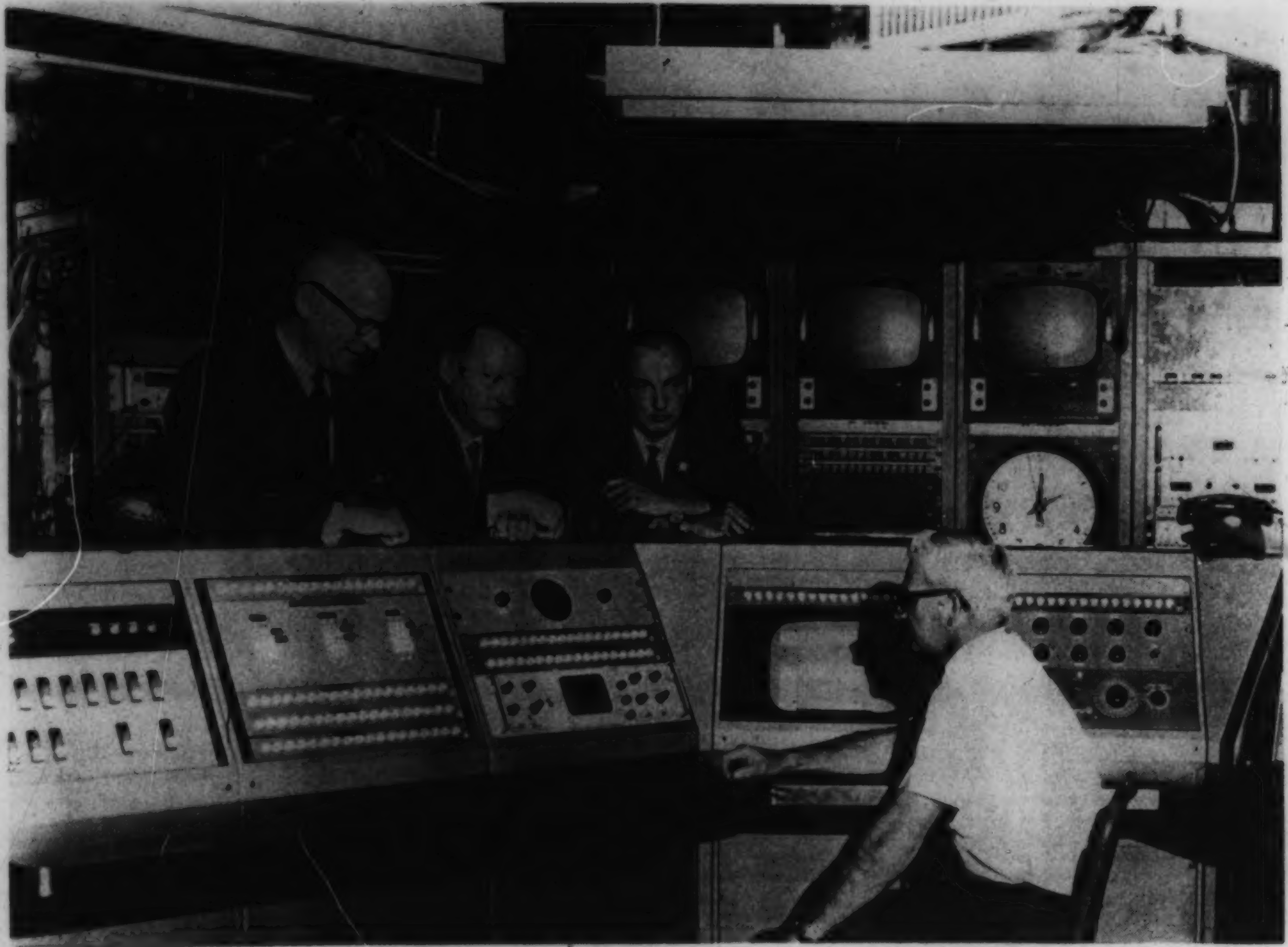

Figure 6 The CBC's Pan American Games master control room in the basement of Minto Armoury in Winnipeg, Manitoba in 1967.

that was the biggest thing" (Goodwin, 1982:27).

Two years later the CBC crews tackled another major multi-sport event in Canada--the first Jeux Canada Games. Some 2,800 Canadian amateur athletes competed in the first national summer games. The CBC was awarded exclusive Canadian television rights to the Games, which were held in the Halifax-Dartmouth area of Nova Scotia. The network carried more than twenty hours of colour coverage, much of it live and in prime viewing time. The first weekend's coverage included the opening ceremonies on Saturday, followed by a ninety minute program on Sunday. Half-hour specials were presented each day throughout the week at 7 p.m. EDT, and the final weekend broadcasts were two hours on Saturday and two and a half hours on Sunday, including the closing ceremonies. Maritime area viewers received up to four hours of broadcasts each day.

The organizers considered these Games "the greatest Canadian festival of sports and culture ever;" the CBC kept with the national spirit of the festival by using announcers from across Canada, one each from Halifax, Edmonton, Montreal, Toronto and Vancouver for television; nine TV producers and eleven co-ordinators, supervisors and unit managers (Star TV Week, August 16, 1969). A cumulative audience of at least 7.9 million watched some of the Canada Games broadcasts on both the CBC's English and French television networks (6.5 million on English and 1.4 million on French) (CBC Annual Report 1969-70). The CBC's Don Goodwin thought the Games were highly successful, "It was a big televison event too. We did a very elaborate coverage of the Canada Games--multi-mobile units, bringing other commentators and producers from other places. In fact, it established the coverage pattern for the Games that existed until quite recently" (1982:6).

The Canada Games were the last major multi-sport event covered by a Canadian network in the 1960s. Throughout the 1960s television coverage of the various major international sporting events like the Olympics and Pan American Games grew increasingly more exciting as technology advanced. Instead of filmed highlights shown the next day, television was able to give its viewers same-day and often live coverage. In addition, some sports modified their competitions to make them more appealing to television. Many of the significant changes involving both institutions occurred during the 1960s.

C. Changes and Developments

1. Changes in Television to Enhance the Coverage of Sport

The 1960s have been referred to as the age of electronics by many of the people involved in the television industry. Actually the era began in 1958, the year videotape was introduced; it revolutionized television coverage of sports. Videotape was a magnetic tape recording process involving a two-inch tape and tape recording machine. Before videotape, programming was provided in three ways: live, on film or through kinescope recording. Kinescopes, used at great deal in sports before the completion of the CBC's microwave network in the late 1950s, were "noticeably fuzzier and grainier than live or regular film." After the introduction of videotape the networks seldom used kine-recordings again. Videotape made "editing much faster than with film because the tape did not have to be processed. It made special effects possible with the push of a button, and far cheaper than on film. It produced much higher quality than either kinescope recordings or film. . . .VTR gave the programmer greater flexibility" (Sterling & Kittross, 1978:322).

While videotape made production of sports telecasts more flexibile, the producers of sports programs also wanted better pictures and angles for their viewers. This they accomplished by using more cameras in various locations to cover events. For example, George Retzlaff, then CBC's supervising producer of television sports, used four cameras to cover the 1960 Stanley Cup playoffs (an addition of two). He also put a fifth camera the dressing rooms for interviews. Two of the cameras sat at the centerline with No. 1 halfway up the stand and No. 2 right up on top. Equipped with a zoomar lens, No. 1 was able to close in on players and zoom out again for a look at the overall play; it was used to cover most of the game. No. 2, equipped with a twenty five inch lens, provided close-ups of play near the goals, fights, penalties, break-aways and human interest byplay. A third camera was set in one of the corners to give a view of the play from a different angle. The fourth camera was placed on the opposite side of the rink to get shots of coaches, players in the box and other sidelights. It was important that a cameraman knew the game of hockey so he could anticipate what was going to happen next in play and which players would be involved. Unlike normal television programs, each cameraman had to treat his camera as if it were transmitting live throughout the game. Meanwhile, the producer inside the control booth watched the output on all four monitors and called for the camera which gave the viewer the information he wanted. Retzlaff explained that "Good camera work--in hockey or any other TV coverage--is camera work the viewer doesn't notice. It means the viewer is seeing what he wants to see, smoothly, and at the time he wants to see it" (CBC Times, March 26-April 1, 1960:7). The camera work, said Retzlaff, is based on the assumption that "We want to cover the game from a particular point of view. The idea is to provide the TV audience with the best seat in the house"

(Telegram, April 13, 1962).

In other sports programs, too, new techniques and cameras were used to generate interest and new effects. In March 1962, the CBC used a super slow motion film camera, designed for scientific studies, on its new "Golf with Stan Leonard" series. The camera showed in graphic detail a four second golf swing. The technique extended the swing to almost sixty seconds. "The super slow motion camera films 1,000 frames per second, compared to a normal motion picture camera speed of 24 frames per second. A golf swing filmed at the former speed, then shown at the latter speed, is slowed down to a point where a viewer can carefully study every motion" (CBC Memo, March 28, 1962). The super slow motion was ideal for teaching sports skills and quickly caught on in many sports.

Another innovation that had a profound impact on television sports coverage was the instant replay. Many people are given credit for its discovery. The CBC's George Retzlaff and his technicians used a type of instant replay in hockey telecasts around 1959-1960, after the advent of videotape, "I'm 99% sure that Retzlaff put the first instant replay on the air" (Craig, 1984:14). Johnny Esaw thought CTV did it first during a Saskatchewan football game in Hamilton in the fall of 1963. "That was subsequently followed very quickly by CBS in the States and then everybody did it" (Esaw, 1981:18). Sugar wrote that ABC's Roone Arledge first introduced America to the instant replay during the Texas-Texas A&M game in 1961 (1978). Other writers credit Tony Verna of CBS for the discovery. Erik Barnouw wrote of the instant replay in A History of Broadcasting in the United States, Vol. III:

> A factor in the rise of football as television fare was the "instant replay," so tellingly used in the Oswald murder. A few weeks later, on New Year's Eve, it was used in the Army-Navy football game, and in 1964 it became a standard sports technique. While one camera showed the over-all action "live," other cameras followed key players in close-up, with each camera linked to a separate videotape machine. Within seconds after a play, its crucial action could be re-examined in close-up, or even unfolded in startling slow motion. This accomplished incredible transformations: brutal collisions became ballets, and end runs and forward passes became miracles of human coordination. Football, once an unfathomable jumble on the small screen, acquired fascination for widening audiences (1970:245).

It seemed that a number of television producers began using their own type of instant replay at roughly the same time. Once videotape was developed it was possible to record an event, roll it back and replay it. How the individual producers rolled it back was up to them. The real change came when the instant replay was slowed down. Both Don MacPherson and Don Goodwin of the CBC credit the Japanese with introducing the slow motion instant replay. MacPherson felt that since it was Japan's first opportunity to welcome the world they worked very hard and were very innovative as far as their technical aspects were concerned during the 1964 Olympic Games.

When instant replays were first introduced, the word "replay" would appear on the screen, followed by a big R to clue the viewer into what was going on. After a couple of years, once people were familiar with instant replays, the word "replay" and R were dropped (Chevrier, 1980).

Ralph Mellanby, former executive producer of "Hockey Night in Canada," said a revolution in the development of television occurred in the mid-1960s. "The technology boom started then. We had video discs, slow motion was invented, which gave us the slow motion instant replay, character generators which they could type on the screen were invented then. Colour came in in

1967. That all hit at once" (Mellanby, 1982:7)

Colour was considered television's third most important technological advance in the 1960s; the first was the extension of the microwave coast-to-coast, the second was videotape. Colour did wonders for sporting events, particularly indoor ones like hockey. "It changed hockey's presentation completely in terms of audience appeal. You felt for the first time you were really there. Black and white presentation of hockey was good but not great" (Hough, 1982:21). The MacLaren people involved with "Hockey Night in Canada" were colour pioneers. In March 1965 they did the first colour telecast of any indoor sporting event in North America. They imported a mobile unit from New York with four colour cameras and set it up beside their own cameras at Maple Leaf Gardens in Toronto during a mid-week game between Toronto and Montreal. According to Hugh Horler, who had been involved with television sports since its inception in the 1950s, some hockey people thought the sport was too fast for colour and the picture would be blurred. So while the rest of Canada received a black and white feed on CTV, an in-house closed circuit telecast was arranged in the Gardens to prove both that colour could work, was acceptable, and that the lighting in the Gardens was not strong enough for colour telecasts (Horler, 1984).

The telecast was a success, according to the Globe and Mail: "Hockey went technicolor last night, for a select handful of viewers. Those who saw the CFTO-TV test of the Toronto-Montreal game spoke in glowing terms of the experience" (March 25, 1965). The only problem with the telecast was that the game was delayed nine minutes when a main fuse blew during the first period because of an overload caused by the addition of bright camera lights suspended from the roof. A change in camera position had to be made because the colour cameras, valued at $50,000 each, were bulkier and heavier than regular black and white ones. One of the colour cameras was moved from the usual shooting place above the exit behind the penalty box to a stand directly behind the south goal because Maple Leaf Gardens President Stafford Smythe felt it would obstruct the view of too many spectators. To provide a better background for the colour telecast, blue paint was mixed with the water used to flood the ice. But the players complained that the ice chipped more easily, was difficult to skate on and forced the puck into an erratic bouncing pattern. During the 1965-66 season, studies were conducted to determine the lighting, ice colour and quality required for colour telecasts. By season's end, extra lighting had been installed in all arenas for colour telecasts.

Finally, after a year of preparation, the CBC broadcast Canada's first official hockey game in colour from Maple Leaf Gardens on October 22, 1966. The colour was reasonably well-received but the critics were not impressed with the CBC's coverage, which they said amounted to little more than radio-with-pictures. The CBC should try new techniques and approches, particularly with the advent of colour, said the critics. "Hockey, like any other sport, had to benefit from the introduction of colour TV simply because the new medium makes it possible to see more. But the benefits were kept to a minimum when the CBC produced its first NHL colorcast Saturday night" (Telegram, October 24, 1966). CTV's earlier colour coverage of CFL football had been a tremendous success and made an entirely new spectacle of the game; the same thing did not occur with hockey. However, the critics did give the network the benefit of the doubt by noting that the production crew had only had their colour mobile unit for a few days. "Still, it was a sparkling sight, and one may still hope that some imagination will be brought to the problem of making the most of it. Maybe someone will even realize that, particularly with colour, viewers really and truly can see what's happening"

(Telegram, October 24, 1966). During the 1966-67 NHL season all Saturday night games on the CBC and CTV from Montreal and Toronto were in colour. During 1967 the CBC took its colour mobile units across the country to telecast sporting and other events during Canada's Centennial. It took two years for the two networks to completely make the massive switch to colour.

While experiments with colour telecasts took place in hockey, the CBC tried a new technique in its coverage of the 1965 Canadian Open golf tournament. Instead of the usual four or five television camera monitor screens situated in front of the director/producer, twelve were used to cover the action around the course. All were used so that the director, Len Casey, could pick the best picture for transmission to the network: "This should enable us to be right with the action and make for an interesting and informative program" (CBC Memo, July 9, 1965). Another "first" in Canadian television golf coverage was the use of still photos taken from the golfer's viewpoint, showing the kind of shot confronting him, to give home viewers a better look at the action. Also used during the telecast was an RF (wireless) shoulder-mount camera. The cameraman carrying this unit was stationed on the sixteenth fairway but roamed to the seventeenth and eighteenth fairways to pick up any players who were in the rough or trees.

The 1960s ushered in a number of technological changes in television:

* Cameras became smaller and more sophisticated: "the solid state system came in, the tubes disappeared, the little electronic gimmicks arrived and so cameras that were 140 lbs in the early sixties suddenly became 45 lbs" (Esaw, 1981:18).

* There was a demand for different and better camera lenses. If a camera stayed at one side of a field, the better the lens the better shot one had of the other side of the field.

* There was a change in the camera cables from big heavy ones which ran 1000 ft. to little triaxcables that ran for 4,000 or 5,000 feet.

* The original cumbersome, two-inch video tape machines were eventually reduced to smaller one-inch tape machines. The one-inch machine could be used for stop action slow motion replay, removing the need for the expensive and heavy slow motion discs used with the two-inch machines. In addition, a battery operated portable videotape recorder and television camera package which could be carried by one person was developed.

* The big heavy microphones that used to sit in front of a broadcaster were replaced by little radio frequency microphones which could be pinned to a tie or lapel and not seen, yet could pick up everything.

* In January 1968 the CBC possessed one of the two slow motion colour camera setups in North America; ABC had the other one.

Along with equipment changes came new rules for the people who covered and produced television sports, said Esaw. A director became a professional director instead of just a technician sent in to direct a game; a producer became a professional producer and would talk to engineers and spend his time thinking up ways and means of doing a better job in production, finding new angles, new methods, and new systems. "I definitely think that sport was the reason for some of these. I don't know how many were a direct result of sport,but some of them were" (Esaw, 1981:19). In 1965, for the first time, the CBC began to formally audition sportscasters, often selecting knowledgeable former athletes, as did the U.S. networks (Dixon, 1984).

The following excerpt from the Telegram sums up the changes wrought during the 1960s and their impact on sport:

> This season Canadian TV coverage should be on a par, from the standpoint of sophisticated electronic gimmickry, with the tricky visually-effective TV football coverage coming out of the United States. There'll be the instant replays to let viewers get a better look at that dramatic catch; the stop action to get a frame-by-frame view of that heart-breaking fumble; split screen effects to show the passer at one end of the field, the receiver waiting anxiously at the other; slow motion to review and analyze that unexpected touchdown. Even the sounds of the game are built into the telecast. Microphones are set up to catch the noises of the crowd. Super-sensitive directional microphones--shotgun mikes--are stationed around the field, catching the quarterback's call from across the field, the referee's decision after a play.
>
> With CBC and CTV directors cutting from wide-angle, medium angle shots, zooming in on close-ups, switching from cameras stationed up near the broadcast booth at the top of the stadium to the key ground-level camera, (just behind the players' bench) which follows the action along the full length of the field, armchair football fans experience the game in a much different way than do stadium fans (August 9-16, 1968:3).

But one aspect of the sports and television relationship which concerned several people was the inclusion of commercials during telecasts. Indeed there was little doubt that advertisers/sponsors were responsible, along with television producers for many changes made to sport. As with other relationships this too created change among the sports, television and advertisers/sponsors. Some changes occurred in sport because of television, just as the previous discussion described the changes in television due to a desire to provide better, more complete and immediate coverage of sporting events.

2. Changes in Sport for Television

"In retrospect, it is not clear whether it was the television industry or sports which took the initiative to bring about the changes which are now an integral part of sports" (Parente, 1974:96). Before the 1960s most changes in sport were made to improve the game itself or make it more interesting and appealing to spectators. Once television got involved changes were made to accommodate it. Sport wanted television money and exposure. But not everyone was happy with the degree of accommodations sport was willing to make.

Esaw explained that Canadian sports officials changed not only superficial things like starting times, but the way the games themselves were played. Changes were made to accommodate commercials in their telecasts. As a sport or league wanted more money for its television rights it had to allow television more opportunities to sell what it had bought. For example, hockey and football officials agreed to the insertion of commercial breaks in games. Initially commercials were never put in during a period of hockey or a quarter of football; they were done before a game, in intermission, between quarters, at half-time or at the end of the game. That was acceptable for some time but as advertisers/sponsors paid more money for the right to sponsor the event they wanted more opportunity to sell to the larger audience during the game when there was maximum interest (Esaw, 1981).

The greatest amount of criticism was directed towards the inclusion, or intrusion, of breaks in the play for commercials. The two sports in Canada where this was particularly noticeable were NHL hockey and CFL football. Originally when Imperial Oil was the sole sponsor of hockey on television the company prided itself on the fact it never broke into the play of the game with a commercial. The only time there was a commercial was at the beginning and end of a period; "the only other thing we did was introduce supers--little caricatures--right across the screen. We used to have more fun with the creators of those things because you had to make sure they didn't get in the way of the play but still be there" (Twaits, 1984:9). The ten second supers were usually cued during lapses in play so the possibility of missing anything was kept to a minimum.

In the early 1960s MacLaren and the sponsors did not use all the commercial time that was allotted to them; Hough said they usually only used eighteen of the thirty six minutes paid for. But as the costs of production escalated, the sponsors insisted on their full allotment. The ten second supers were not enough. If the hockey people wanted more money, more exposure and better production they would have to give something back to television--namely more commercial opportunities. The only way to accomplish this was to allow the artifical stops and breaks in play (Esaw, 1981).

Convincing the NHL governors to allow commercial time-outs was difficult. When NBC telecast the 1966 Stanley Cup games, Carl Lindeman, NBC vice president sports, suggested such time-outs would be very helpful. The NHL strongly rejected the idea. Hence NBC taped the game and inserted commercials during stops in play and then continued with the taped portion. This meant that at the start of each new period, NBC was about one and a half minutes behind the Canadian coverage (Daily Star, October 24, 1966). Finally, in the late 1960s, the NHL acquiesced and allowed television its commercials. The double allure of money and exposure was simply too great.

Allowing commercial time-outs was a major concession for the CFL too. Unlike the NFL, the Canadian league had never used time-outs for any reason, thus it did not appear to have natural openings for the insertion of advertisements. But Esaw, convinced such openings did exist, sat, stop watch in hand, beside Gaudaur, the chairman of the television committee, and timed natural breaks in the action; "As soon as the punt was returned we would set the stop watch and by the time the teams changed we found that thirty seconds had gone by. With experiments like that Jake understood that you could insert commercials and not really interrupt the flow of the game" (Esaw, 1981:5). In 1967 breaks for commercials in the first five minutes of each quarter were added to the regular breaks at the three minute mark in each quarter. Whenever possible the breaks were worked into a legitimate pause, such as those after touchdowns or injury. The regular break with three minutes remaining in the quarter was a natural one because there were some minor rule changes in the final three minutes of each half and it was necessary for the officials to signal these changes to the teams. The new commercial break replaced a previous format which consisted of a series of superimposed advertisements each about ten seconds long. By 1980 the CFL had granted television up to ten minutes of commercial time (two one minute and a thirty second commercial per quarter) during a game. Also, if a team called a time-out then another commercial was put in; if a team did not call a timeout, that commercial did not get in.

Gaudaur explained that his league was reluctant to insert television commercials because the fans very clearly objected to them as an unwarranted intrusion. Moreover, pointed out Gaudaur, the networks ate up considerable time getting in and out of commercials. The big problem was cueing the commercials. When the official on the field signalled a break, the commentator had to finish his sentence before cueing the commercial. Sometimes twenty seconds of available time would elapse between the field official's signal and the start of the commercial (Gaudaur, 1980:14). Both sides had to compromise.

Commercials were not the only concession sports made for television. Changes were also made in schedules, starting times and dates. "Television has always been very careful not to interfere with the course of direction of an athletic event but in those days television used to have to ask for certain things, for example, starting times. . . " (Esaw, 1981:13). There were two types of changes requested by television with regard to starting times; one was a major change in time of an event in order to reach the large eastern audiences. For example, in hockey the networks had to reach the eastern audiences to amortize the high costs of the sport. If a game were played in Vancouver at 8 p.m., viewers in the east would have to watch it at 11 p.m. Of course, few viewers would and so the network lost the big eastern markets. So the hockey people finally agreed that to bring in the big television dollars they would have to have 5 p.m. starts in Vancouver to accommodate. The time of the event had to be geared to the large eastern audiences.

Sometimes the starting time of an event was altered to allow live coverage. For example, CTV often asked figure skating organizers to adjust their competition start times by thirty minutes to enable the network to telecast the event live during one of its better viewing "windows" on the network.

Some sports even altered their rules to change the pace of or length of games. For example, professional baseball brought in the thirty second rule between pitches and cut the time between innings to ninety seconds. In addition, the players were ordered to run in whereas before they could walk; pitchers were driven in from the bull pen; and the manager could only walk out once then they had to change the pitcher. "Everything was done subtly to speed it up" (Mellanby, 1982:14). The changes cut the length of an average professional ball game by an hour to two hours and forty minutes.

The networks have also asked organizers to change the location of the finish point of an event. For example, figure skaters were asked to finish up at the gate where the television camera was stationed. "You want to see the skater finish and come off because their face is drama, they're soaked in sweat. They are perspiring, gasping for air and we can catch the drama" (Esaw, 1981:13). Sports have made those kind of changes because it was to their advantage as well as television's to co-operate "if it doesn't put them out a great deal. In return we'll do many things for them. We provide tapes of all of these things for them to take and use for training methods" (Esaw, 1981:13).

The colour of team uniforms also changed to accommodate television. In CFL football, in order to clearly distinguish between teams, on black and white television, officials had to ensure that one team wore a predominantly white jersey while the other team wore a colored jersey (Gaudaur, 1980). In addition officials in various sports like hockey and soccer had to begin wearing beepers to alert them of commercials.

Frank Selke, Jr., vice president of CSN, said television had an indirect effect on the behaviour of athletes. He cited fights in hockey as a prime example. Though he believed there were fewer fights now, the ones that did occur lasted longer, "as though the combatants want to make sure that the folks back home see that Joe is not afraid to stand up and be counted and there is a lot of pushing, horsing around. I think that is the result of cameras being on these guys. I can't prove that, but I'm convinced it's true" (Selke, 1980:2).

Television improved the ascetics of sports too, said Selke. The conditions at hockey arenas, particularly the board areas and the ice, improved because the arena operators were aware that there were a lot of people out there looking at their building; ". . . they tend to keep them cleaner than they would otherwise. I think the ice is better kept" (Selke, 1980:2). There have been all kinds of experiments with colored ice--some were painted blue, some pink--due to colour television until most arena operators decided on a uniform matt finish which looked white. In CFL football, yardsticks were added to the opposite side of the cameras so at home viewers could see where the ball was located and where the action was taking place on the field without relying on the commentator to tell them.

There are many examples in practically every sport, both amateur and professional, of television requesting a change to enhance its coverage of an event or where sport decided to change to improve their relationship with television and/or their image. Contrary to what some critics have stated, most sports were not overly relucant to accommodate the networks in return for television dollars and exposure. For their part, most television people interviewed said they felt a sense of responsibility to the athletes involved. They said the changes requested were neither major nor drastic and often improved the sport in the long run.

The 1960s in Canada produced major changes in the sport, television and advertisers/sponsors relationship. The 1958 Broadcasting Act encouraged and allowed for the formation of a second national television network, which competed with the CBC. This created a need for "new" programming which met Canadian content requirements, was inexpensive to produce and of interest to a large audience. Sport met all criteria. Eventually advertisers/sponsors demanded more time to "sell" their products during telecasts. They also asked for faster-paced games and began showing more details of the events to hold viewer interest. Television and sport complied, but not before demanding more money for rights from advertisers/sponsors. This evolving relationship among this triumvirate continued into the next decade, the 1970s.

CHAPTER IV

THE CHANGING NATURE OF SPORT AND TELEVISION

A. Political Climate and How It Related to Sport

The 1968 Broadcasting Act had a great impact on, and set the stage for, Canadian television during the next decades. Two basic requirements in the act had far-reaching effects on the Canadian broadcasting system during the next decade. The networks, particularly the CBC, had to substantially increase its Canadian content; and the CBC had to decentralize its management structure in order to give producers and other creative staff the maximum opportunity to plan and produce programs. The act also more clearly defined the CBC's mandate, requiring it to "serve the special needs of geographic regions, and actively contribute to the flow and exchange of cultural and regional information and entertainment" (CBC Annual Report 1971-72:3). As well, the CBC had to provide all kinds of programs for all kinds of people: "The national broadcasting service should be a balanced service of information, enlightenment and entertainment for people of different ages, interests and tastes covering the whole range of programming in fair proportion" (CBC Annual Report 1970-71:21).

The management of the CBC felt that more was expected of the corporation under the Broadcasting Act, the Canadian Radio-Television Commission's (CRTC) regulations and even the CBC's own policies with regard to Canadian content than was expected of Canada's private broadcasters. They also believed more was already being done by the CBC to meet these expectations. The corporation set its goal to reach 70% Canadian content in its programming as soon as possible.

Oddly, a few months after the proclamation of the 1968 Broadcasting Act, Senator Keith Davey, the former CFL commissioner, called for an investigation of mass media in Canada. Davey's call, which came during the CFL-cable operators dispute over blackouts discussed at length in chapter III, was quickly answered and in 1969 Davey was appointed to head the Special Senate Committee on Mass Media. In the committee's report, entitled The Uncertain Mirror, Davey wrote that the social function of the media was to give Canadians "our news, our information, our entertainment, and to some extent our sense of ourselves as a nation" (Davey, 1970:39). But the media also had another function which troubled the committee; they acted as "message-bearers for people who want to sell us something" (1970:40). The committee wondered if broadcasters had become more adept at anticipating the moods and requirements of their customers (ie. the advertisers) than of their viewers. The report was generally favorable to the CBC, though it recommended several improvements to the corporation. Some of the recommendations had already been implemented by the CBC when the Senate released its report. For example, though the committee referred to the CBC's "pre-occupation with the major production centres in Toronto and Montreal" and suggested the corporation look to other centres for program ideas and production, the CBC had already completed a re-organization and had begun decentralizing its production to achieve a stronger regional and local contribution to both its French and English networks.

In order to better link Canadian television stations and so improve national service, Canada launched the communications satellite Anik--from the Eskimo for "brother"--on November 9, 1972. The Anik satellite had twelve channels, three of which were leased by the CBC. Each channel could carry one colour video signal, two audio signals and one cue and control circuit. The satellite allowed the CBC to extend its connected network service to remote areas in the far north and to French language stations in the west (CBC Annual Report 1972-73). Canada launched Anik II five months later. The solar powered Anik satellites sit in geostationary orbit approximately 22,300 miles above the equator (a distance equal to about 2.8 times the diameter of the earth). Prior to the satellites, the CBC transmitted its programs across Canada via a terrestrial microwave system which, spanning 4,200 miles, was the longest in the world.

Canadian television was twenty years old in 1972. The CBC television service was available in English and French on more than 150 CBC-owned stations and transmitters and on more than 200 privately-owned stations affiliated with the CBC. The CBC networks reached nearly 98% of Canada's widely-scattered population, and the corporation hoped to eventually expand its service into virtually every isolated community in the country. The quality and quantity of the CBC's service was very uneven, with some communities receiving only a few hours of "delayed" broadcasts a week. "After 20 years the character of the service is clearly and predominantly Canadian" (CBC Annual Report 1972-73:9). Canadian content levels were consistently close to the CBC's target of 70%, leaving enough flexibility in the schedules to accommodate a selection of important and popular programs from other countries.

By 1973 the corporation reached its 70% Canadian content goal and began concentrating on its second goal: the improvement of Canadian programs. During the next few years the critical objectives of the CBC were qualitative in nature--to improve its news and information programming, to emphasize the production of drama written by Canadians, and to develop programs which would interpret the various peoples, cultures and parts of the country to each other (CBC Annual Report 1972-73).

Two years later the new president of the CBC, A.W. Johnson, wrote that the CBC had "sharpened its response to the changes in the broadcasting environment, and their impact upon the ability of the CBC to fulfill its Parliamentary mandate" (CBC Annual Report 1975-76:4). There were several factors which seriously challenged Canadian television programming: the pervasive presence of cable television, with its wide choice of expensive American shows; the growth of provincially-operated television systems; and the possibility of pay television extending still further the choice available to the Canadian viewer. Johnson indicated the CBC had set itself the goal of improving Canadian programming and invited private broadcasters to do the same. At stake was the character of Canadian broadcasting and its role in shaping and reflecting Canadian life. However, the ability to improve programs hinged to a large degree on program budgets (CBC Annual Report 1975-76).

In 1977 the CBC celebrated its twenty fifth anniversary. That year the corporation examined broadcasting in Canada and its role and responsibilities in it. In June 1977 the CBC issued a document, Touchstone for the CBC, which "set out in clear terms the CBC's assessment of Canadian broadcasting in general, the corporation's own philosophy, and a specific plan of action to which the corporation is deeply committed with the goal of achieving a more complete realization of its mandate" (CBC Annual Report 1977-78:6). A month later a CRTC committee, which had investigated how well the CBC was meeting the requirements of the Broadcasting Act, issued its report. It concurred with some of the concerns expressed in Touchstone, but also criticized the CBC for the way it was fulfilling its mandate in identifying and expressing various aspects of the Canadian identity (CBC Annual Report 1977-78). As for its role in promoting Canadian unity, the CBC president defined the corporation's responsibility in these terms:

> . . . to reflect and interpret Canada to Canadians, to express the Canadian identity: in story and song, in drama and dance, in comedy and conversation, in music and sport, in news and public debate. It is in this way that the CBC supports and celebrates Canada as a country, and thus contributes to the development of national unity (CBC Annual Report 1977-78:5).

Touchstone had said the Canadianization of the English television schedule should be a CBC priority, and in the 1977 fall schedule Canadian programming was increased by thirty minutes a week during prime time by axing a similar amount of American programming. This Canadianization was to progressively increase by half an hour or more a week each season until the prime time schedule and the total English television schedule were almost completely Canadian.

Sport was included in Touchstone's Action Plan. One goal was to reduce the interference and disruption of prime time service sometimes caused by live sports events. To this end the CBC changed the start of its midweek baseball coverage to after the conclusion of the Stanley Cup hockey playoffs. Previously, when baseball and hockey seasons overlapped (sometimes three or more nights a week at prime time), other programs were bumped to make room for both sports. The CBC's board of directors decided this was too much. Touchstone also suggested the CBC carry baseball on a delayed basis in western time zones in order to avoid the rescheduling of local and regional news and current affairs programs. The CBC also said it wanted more say in determining start times and games' dates so as to minimize normal programming disruption (CBC, 1977). It appeared that sports on television was acceptable to the CBC's board of directors as long as it did not interfere with news, current affairs and other prime time programs.

In October 1978, the CRTC held hearings for ten days to examine the CBC's network licence. The CBC presented a major document, The CBC - A Perspective, which examined the overall broadcasting scene as well as the CBC's activities and achievements since the last network licence hearings in 1974. The CBC was committed to the objectives set out in Touchstone but budget cuts during the 1979-80 season affected the implementation of some recommendations. Some, like the increased Canadianization of prime time programs, were suspended. Johnson felt that 1978-79 was a time of crisis in Canadian broadcasting. He worried the broadcasting environment had become "increasingly hostile to the reflection of Canadianism on the television screen" (CBC Annual Report 1978-79:6). This crisis was attributed to several factors: the proliferation of cable systems, which fragmented the Canadian audience; the domination of American programs on Canadian screens (nearly two-thirds of all television programs available in English Canada were of foreign and mainly American origin); and the availability of American programs in Canada at a fraction of their original production cost.

> To compound the problem, we are being caught up in a rapidly expanding communications technology, with attractive new opportunities for the hardware side of broadcasting: cable converters, satellite-to-cable distribution, pay television, fibre optics, cheaper earth stations, videotape and video disc systems in the home, the evolution of the family television set into a kind of computer terminal with access to a whole range of information and entertainment choices (CBC Annual Report 1978-79:7).

By the late 1970s some people in the media industry began calling for basic changes to the Canadian broadcasting system. The system's original structure and its founding principle of Canadian orientation was being eroded; there was concern that Canadian television was not adequately reflecting Canadian life. The Clyne Committee recommended "immediate action to establish a rational structure for telecommunications in Canada as a defence against the further loss of sovereignty in all its economic, social, cultural and political aspects" (CBC Annual Report 1979-80:6). The CRTC also drew attention to national questions when it renewed the CBC's network licences. The CBC's directors said that if all Canadian broadcasters still accepted the principles of the Broadcasting Act of 1968, then they should share a common goal: "to fashion a television service that truly reflects the Canadian community and that carries this sense of Canadianism to viewers in every part of the country" (CBC Annual Report 1979-80:6). What was wanted was a television system that was clearly and confidently Canadian and not overwhelmed by foreigners. To become more Canadian the CBC increased its Canadian content target to 80%.

In 1982 Canadian television completed its thirtieth year of operations. Television coverage now reached 99.1% of the Canadian population by satellite transmission and more than 85,000 kilometers of microwave and landline connections. There were two national networks--the CBC and CTV--plus the new Global regional network in Toronto. Pay television had been licensed and preparations for its introduction were underway. However, the technological revolution, which featured cable television, satellites and satellite-to-cable networks, earth receive stations, direct broadcasting to home, videocassettes and video discs, pay television, specialized program services and teletext, continued to impose fundamental changes on the North American communications environment. That year the broadcasting industry was badly hit by the economic downturn. The CBC announced a $10 million cut in expenditures midway through its television season. Financial hardship made it more difficult than ever to produce more and better Canadian programming. Still, in 1982 the CBC and CTV increased their overall network audiences and their audience share; the CBC audience for Canadian prime time network programs increased by 13% from 1980 to 1982 (Herrndorf, 1983).

The economic downturn of the 1980s brought to an abrupt halt what had been a rapidly developing relationship among sport, television and advertisers/sponsors in Canada. Moreover, Canadian television was becoming increasingly Americanized as advances in communications technology made access to American programming ever easier. One field in which Canada's networks were able to meet Canadian content requirements and generate large audiences and revenues was sport.

B. Sports and Television in the 1970s and Early 1980s

The 1970s and early 1980s presented Canadian television sports coverage with new dimensions and challenges. While television's regular sports coverage changed little from the 1960s, its coverage of international events improved markedly, providing Canadian viewers and networks with new thrills and interests. The 1970s brought Canadian television viewers the Canada-U.S.S.R. hockey series, the 1976 Montreal Summer Olympics, the 1978 Commonwealth Games in Edmonton, and the games of a new professional baseball club, the Toronto Blue Jays. The right to telecast the games of Canada's two professional baseball teams (the Jays and the Montreal Expos) incited what became known as the "Brewery War," which eventually spread to all professional and some amateur Canadian sports during the late 1970s and early 1980s. The 1970s also ushered in the global sport television audience, due to more widespread use of satellites.

1. Technical Advances

Television technology continued to improve rapidly during the 1970s. Cameras got smaller, fibre optics replaced bulky copper cables, mobile unit switching gear became more sophisticated, sound and mixing systems improved, and the networks began using satellites to cover domestic as well as international events (Esaw, 1981). All these developments affected the presentation of sporting events on both Canadian networks.

During the first twenty years of television, technicians concentrated on producing good pictures and improving coverage of sports events. Once they had perfected camera positions and picture quality, they turned to the intermissions and sound. During professional hockey's early days on television, the intermissions consisted primarily of chats among members of the old Hot Stove League, which had been transferred intact from radio. In 1971 Ralph Mellanby, executive producer of "Hockey Night in Canada," tried something new; thirty film reports, each five minutes long, were prepared and shown between periods. Among the reports was a story on Rocket Richard, great goalies of playoffs gone by, current player profiles, and a national playoff quiz.

At this time the development of more sensitive microphones enabled television to focus attention on the sounds of a game. During the NHL games the microphones picked up sounds from the ice and from the players' benches. Indeed, the microphones were too good. Home audiences could hear player conversations. As these were often embarrassingly lewd, the networks decided to move their microphones away from the benches to outside the boards and over each blue line (Telegram, April 1971). The producers of CFL games also found out the hard way about the positioning of microphones. During one CFL game two men were supplied with little shotgun microphones and told to pick up audio "colour" from the field. The microphones were capable of picking up sounds over a distance of thirty to forty yards and were used primarily to hear quarterbacks bark their signals. One of the men decided to hone in on one of the players' benches. He began picking up a little too much colour, or rather "off colour" language. Unfortunately, the producer in the mobile unit had no idea the swearing was being broadcast along with the picture across the country. That evening and the next day CTV received hundreds of complaints. But the episode did not dissaude Esaw from continuing sound experiments in future telecasts, though he did order no more monitoring of player conversations from the bench. Still, "The microphones add colour. Once you've reached a good picture then you try for a better sound" (Globe and Mail, July 31, 1970).

Microphones provided "colour" in other sports too. During the 1971 baseball season, Expos' pitching coach Cal McLish wore a special cordless microphone which enabled him to talk to his pitchers on the mound. It also enabled viewers to hear all the advice and chatter too. This "experiment" was quite successful, and the CBC's baseball producers began attaching cordless microphones, and later radio-frequency microphones the size of bumblebees, to base umpires and coaches.

Microphones were used successfully in many sports. There was another microphone "problem" in 1976-77 but this time it was with the newly developed microphone-equipped hand-held camera. During the 1976-77 hockey season the CBC used a microphone-equipped hand-held camera to capture crowd noise, conversations from the players' benches, and the sounds of hockey action along the boards. Once during a playoff game the microphone picked up an obscenity uttered by Philadelphia Flyers' captain Bobby Clarke at referee Bruce Hood. After the incident Bob Moir, director of television sports for the CBC, said that the microphone-equipped camera would still be used, but "its use would be more judicious particularly in training it on the players' benches in tense situations" (Globe and Mail, April 19, 1977). The microphone-equipped hand-held cameras became very popular and were used extensively in covering other sports, including football, baseball, golf and tennis.

With all the technical innovations going on in television sports, people grew curious to learn how producers managed to provide the viewer with the "best seat in town." Two sports writers wrote about the behind the scenes preparations and activities of hockey and football. In "The Things You Never See On Hockey Night in Canada," Earl McRae discussed the number and position of cameras and microphones used in hockey. Six months later Blair Kirby examined the physical setup of all the television equipment used in televising CFL games.

Five cameras were used to telecast "Hockey Night in Canada" during the 1970s. Four were trained on the action and one was used for studio interviews. In Maple Leaf Gardens a camera was positioned at ice level on the rink's west side to take closeups and bench shots. A second camera, half way up the stands on the west side, covered most of the action. Camera three, at the top of the stands beside the gondola, took high shots and closeups of the goaltenders. Camera four, high up in the west corner, handled corner action, such as faceoffs. The fifth camera sat in the studio under the stands. Inside the mobile unit a director surveyed four monitors, chose the shots he wanted and called out the camera numbers to a person beside him called a "switcher" who would hit the corresponding button on his panel and that camera shot was the one which would appear on home screens. Three microphones, one suspended from a cable over each blue line and one under the big centre-ice scorebox, were used to soak up atmosphere--the sounds of sticks and whistles and the crowd. During the 1970s television producers also started using chroma-key, a process whereby the plain blue backdrop in the Gardens' studio was removed electronically and replaced with another backdrop, such as the ice surface, the crowd or the "Hockey Night in Canada" logo. Because chroma-key worked only with the colour blue, players or anyone else wearing blue sweaters, shirts, jackets, trousers were never interviewed with the chroma-key backdrop because the ice surface or the crowd would be seen in place of the blue on the clothing (Canadian Magazine, April 10, 1971:7).

Television equipment was set up differently for Canadian football. In 1970 six cameras were used to cover a CFL game at Toronto's CNE Stadium. Four cameras were perched on the roof of the stadium, one hung from a crane in the end-zone and another stood at field level. The cameramen talked to directors through headsets. In 1971 the CBC added the new position of director of isolation coverage. This director tried to catch or isolate specific plays through the use of three colour cameras at the sidelines and end-zones. John Spalding, the CBC's executive producer of CFL telecasts, said the new position would play a major role in the type of coverage provided in 1971. "The quick movements of a flanker, the sudden pulling of a lineman, the fast breaking pattern of a pass receiver will all be caught in isolation, and will afford the viewer at home a better view of the action than most of the players on the field" (CBC Memo, June 3, 1971). Former football players were hired to handle this position, the reasoning being that their intimate knowledge of football would enable them to anticipate backfield and line plays before they occurred, thus ensuring that the outstanding performances

Figure 7 CTV's commentators and former football players, Dale Isaac (play-by-play) and Frank Rigney (colour) view television monitors during a regular season CFL game at Edmonton's Commonwealth Stadium in 1980.

Figure 8 Television monitors used by commentators in the pressbox during a regular season CFL game in Commonwealth Stadium in 1980.

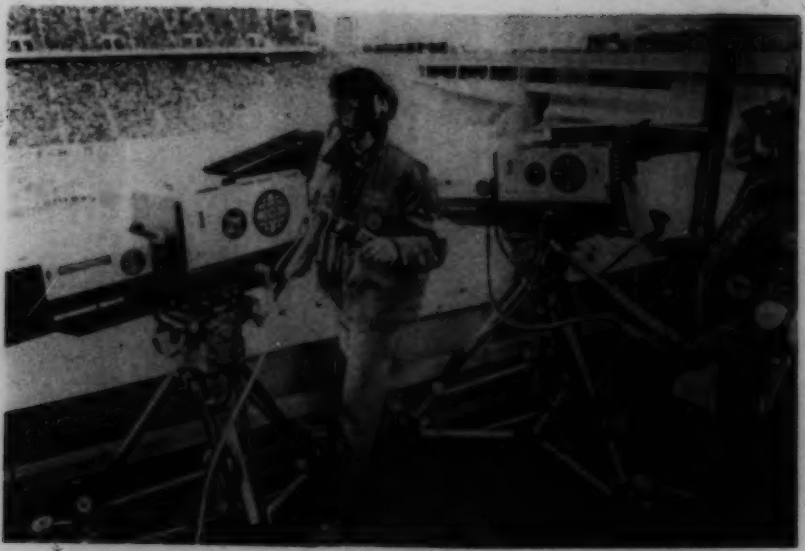

Figure 9 Two cameramen, wearing headsets to talk with directors, used cameras #1 and #2 in the pressbox at Commonwealth Stadium during a regular season CFL game in 1980.

Figure 10 A third CBC camera, mounted on a cart for mobility, covered the play from the sideline at field level.

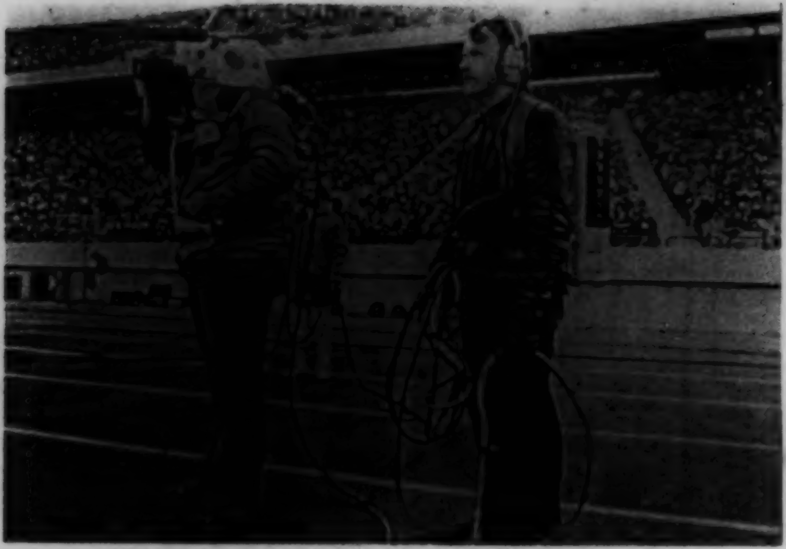

Figure 11 A microphone-equipped hand-held camera carried by a fourth cameraman was attached to a portable videotape recorder on the back of another man and used to catch the action during a regular season CFL game in 1980.

Figure 12 The CBC's mobile units used to cover a regular season CFL game outside Commonwealth Stadium in Edmonton in 1980.

of individuals would be fully captured on camera. In all, three directors, including the isolation specialist, sorted out the images from the six cameras for the home viewer. One handled the play-by-play camera work, the second the isolation cameras, replay equipment and slow motion, and the third decided which shot appeared on the home screen. Each director had technicians to press the required buttons (Globe and Mail, November, 1972). Said one sports writer of the new directions of the CFL television coverage:

> The coverage of television becomes more and more complex, and better and better. This year more than ever, the cameras will spot individual plays on the isolated cameras. The instant replay continues to improve and means no viewer need miss a touchdown, even if he's at the refrigerator the first time it happens. However hopefully the cameramen have gotten used to their instant replay cameras and will use them only for important plays. . . . But, make no doubt about it, the impact on football by television has been sensational. The game has had to improve and keep up with the times (Telegram, July 24-31, 1970:16).

In professional baseball six cameras were generally used to cover the games in Canada in 1970. One camera stood behind home plate, one was in centre field lined up behind the pitcher, another was mounted high over first base, a fourth hovered over third base and usually one was on the ground in both teams' dugouts. A seventh hand-held camera was added later in the decade to capture the reactions of the crowd, managers and players. The hand-held camera gave camermen unprecedented freedom of movement (Hudson, 1980).

At least one technical innovation caused problems of an untechnical nature during the 1970s--the slow motion instant replay. In a 1973 game both the referee and goal judge missed a goal which millions of "Hockey Night In Canada" fans witnessed on television. The slow motion replay of the shot showed the puck had indeed entered the net, hit the upper right part, and bounced back out. The game result was not affected but the suggestion was made that the referee should refer to the instant replay after making confusing or uncertain calls, especially in situations important to the game's outcome (Weekend Magazine, February 3, 1973). Both the CFL and the NHL used slow motion replays to analyze the accuracy of their referees' calls. They found the referees to be accurate in the vast majority of cases even when the infraction or lack of infraction would not be detected on regular instant replay. So the two leagues decided it was not worthwhile to set up their own telecasting organization in order to routinely check plays and calls via the slow motion replay.

Technical coverage of "Hockey Night in Canada" changed during the 1973-74 season, some said to halt a slide in the ratings that had occurred the previous year. Mellanby, while helping NBC by directing its first five NHL shows, learned some new techniques from the American network and applied them to his own hockey telecasts. Among the new techniques: the use of four of the five cameras normally used to cover a game to provide slow and regular motion re-runs from a variety of angles. "This was a big change from before" (Daily Star, October 24, 1973).

Before the 1977 Grey Cup game John Hudson, then-head of CBC Sports, commented on the technical innovations in television and sport coverage that had been achieved in the twenty five years the CBC had been televising CFL ball. He said that Canadian viewers had been provided with the most sophisticated and technically-advanced coverage in the world. Moreover, he said, North American television producers used the latest technical innovations to enhance game coverage, not simply to try new gadgetry. Hudson thought the CBC's coverage of the 1976 Grey Cup game had struck the perfect balance between the use of technical innovation and the enhancement of the coverage for the spectators. He vowed to use that same balance during the 1977 game. All seventeen cameras used in the coverage had a specific purpose; "that is what we need to provide the more than five million viewers, who will watch the game, with the most complete coverage possible" (CBC Memo, November 7, 1977). As in the past, the CBC shared Grey Cup game coverage with CTV. CTV commentators described play in the first half, and the CBC commentators handled the second half and the final wrap-up.

There were other innovations to television sports in the 1970s. A new reporting concept was introduced to the 1978 Stanley Cup playoffs. Through the use of satellite feeds, viewers watching one game were shown scoring plays from other games being played elsewhere in Canada. According to a CBC memo, the immediate reporting from other rinks was added for the enjoyment of the viewers.

Both the CBC and CTV networks were acutely aware of their viewer and took careful note of the size of audience attracted by each program. After all, commercial support depended on viewer satisfaction and audience size. Both networks believed technical and programming improvements would render sports coverage more exciting and informative. The better the coverage, the larger the audiences would become.

2. The Popularity of Sports on Television

Televised sport continued to be very popular during the 1970s and early 1980s. "The truth of the matter is that sport is not only the thing that television does best, but is better by far on television than it is in the stadium" (Globe and Mail, October 9, 1971). One weekend in October 1971 was called the Sports Fans' Weekend of the Year because it was the one time that year when all three major sports--football, hockey and baseball--were shown on television for a total of twenty nine hours. As well, fans were treated to another thirteen hours of Davis Cup tennis, roller skating, wrestling, auto racing, figure skating and sports chat (Globe and Mail, 1971). There were many advantages to watching sports on television:

> That's because, in the stadium, you have only one set of eyes and one less-than-expert brain. On television you have at least four sets of eyes - that's the minimum number of cameras to cover football properly - plus the knowledge of three or more experts and stop-action cameras that can run it again in slow motion for us dullards. . . . Televised sports has all the advantages, for it is immediate, it is relaxing, and it is real. The stations love sport because it holds the viewers for long stretches, with frequent opportunities for commercials, and it gets big ratings. A CTV-CFL game on only five stations draws half a million people. And perhaps best of all, most of it is Canadian content - not the kind of Canadian content that is burdened with skinflint production standards but the kind that looks good and draws big audiences. It is no wonder then, that sport is essential (Globe and Mail, October 9, 1971).

As mentioned above, one reason television stations and the networks loved sport was it attracted and held large audiences for long periods. The size of audience was important in marketing a program to advertisers/sponsors. Surveys measuring audience sizes for a variety of television programming in the 1970s and early 1980s consistently showed sports events to be the largest draws. Table 5 shows the largest Canadian audiences primarily for sports events during selected years between 1970 and 1982. In 1970 the Stanley Cup eastern division final between the Chicago Blackhawks and the Boston Bruins attracted 5.4 million viewers on the CBC English network, the network's largest audience for a single broadcast that year. Audiences for that year's Stanley Cup series averaged 4.4 million

TABLE 5 Canadian Audience Sizes for Major Sporting Events in Selected Years During the 1970s and Early 1980s

Year	Event	Audience Size
1970	Stanley Cup playoffs (single game)	5.4 million
	Stanley Cup playoffs (range for games)	3.0 to 5.2 million
	NHL All-Star game	5.0 million
	Grey Cup game (Montreal vs. Calgary)	4.0 million
1972	Canada-U.S.S.R. series	16 million
1973-74	Stanley Cup final (Montreal vs. Chicago)	7.7 million
	(including French network)	(10 million)
	1974 Commonwealth Games (total)	6.7 million
	NHL All-Star game	6.1 million
	Grey Cup game (Edmonton vs. Ottawa)	5.6 million
	World Series baseball (average)	4.4 million
	Canadian Figure Skating Championships	3.3 million
	Rose Bowl game	2.5 million
	Super Bowl game	2.5 million
1976	Super Series '76	5.5 - 6.7 million
	Summer Olympics	18.2 million
1979	Stanley Cup playoffs (Montreal vs. New York Rangers)	4.9 million
	Grey Cup game (Edmonton vs Montreal)	5.981 million
1980	Winter Olympics	11.6 million
1981	Canada Cup Hockey (Canada vs. U.S.S.R.)	5.627 million
1982	Grey Cup game (Edmonton vs Toronto)	7.86 million
	World Cup Soccer (final)	5.9 million

Source: CBC Annual Reports, 1970 to 1982.

viewers per game. By comparison, 5.2 million watched the 1970 Academy Awards. Audiences for other sports events carried by the CBC that year were similarly large: 5 million watched the NHL All-Star game in January; 4 million watched the Grey Cup in November; and a total of 5.8 million (7.6 combined English and French) watched the ten days of Canada Games' coverage. The list of most enjoyed sports programs (in addition to those mentioned above) in 1970-71 included the entire CFL football and Saturday night hockey series, the Baseball World Series, the Kentucky Derby, the Canadian International Championship Stakes, the 1971 Canadian Curling Championships from Quebec City, the final game of the World Curling Championships from France, the annual Masters Golf Tournament, and the English F.A. Cup Final (CBC Annual Report 1970-71).

Canadians loved televised sports, and the networks responded by producing more of it. In 1971 CTV carried about 300 hours of sport programming, compared to about 500 hours for the much larger CBC. Don Goodwin, then-head of CBC Sports, said "sport is the greatest single entity in television, in terms of audience interest and loyalty" (Globe and Mail, October 9, 1971). Esaw agreed completely, adding that television columnists underrated and undervalued sports. "Sport has great value--it's manifested in numbers, ratings, sales, and dollars. Sport is a natural for television. You don't have to stage anything or train any actors. The show is there--it's live, it's emotional, it's human" (Globe and Mail, October 9, 1971). Of all the regularly televised sports, hockey, football and baseball achieved the highest ratings, with hockey usually ranking first in the ratings (Globe and Mail, October 9, 1971).

The 1972 Canada-U.S.S.R. hockey series broke all Canadian records for television audience size, more than half the population of Canada watched the series. The appreciation index, a scale of 0-100, recorded by the CBC's viewer panels during the series provided an insight into public attitudes in Canada. As predicted, the audiences were very large and interest high. The audience's appreciation of the fifth game, won by the U.S.S.R., was very high at 89 but the index of appreciation for the last game won in the last seconds of play by Canada, was 97--an all-time record high level of appreciation for any single broadcast.

"Sports of all kinds have an important place in the schedules of both networks" (CBC Annual Report 1972-73:11). In 1972 the English and French CBC networks carried NHL hockey, Expos baseball, the baseball Game of the Week, the World Series, NFL and CFL football, and Canadian college football. A television critic wrote that sports were the best thing on television because they were exciting, colourful, visually pleasing, well handled and allowed the viewer to see and know more than someone at the game (Globe and Mail, November, 1972). Sports continued to draw large audiences for the CBC. Indeed "Hockey Night in Canada" was its fourth most popular show (3 to 3.4 million viewers), next to "M.A.S.H.," "All in the Family" (just under 4 million) and "Walt Disney" (4.4 million). On the CBC French network, Saturday night hockey ranked number one with 1.4 million viewers, followed by Wednesday night hockey and "Walt Disney" (CBC Annual Report 1973-74).

During the 1973-74 season, television's handling of fighting in the NHL came under fire. Gordon Juckes, operational secretary of the Canadian Amateur Hockey Association, wanted the federal government to limit the amount of hockey fighting seen on television. Juckes thought the government had the right to curb the telecasters (Daily Star, May 29, 1974). Clarence Campbell, president of the NHL, argued that if it happened on the ice, the networks had the right to show it. Frank Selke, Jr., director of marketing and promotion for "Hockey Night in Canada," agreed with Campbell, comparing hockey telecasters to electronic reporters. People watching television had a right to see what was happening on the ice or in the stands if it was relevant to the game he insisted. But Selke agreed that slow motion replays of fights should only be used to show how the battle began. Fight coverage remains an issue to this day. Generally, it is up to the executive producer and his superiors to determine what and what not to show of on-ice fighting.

Whether or not television commentators should question a referee's call was another question raised during the 1970s which was part of the larger issue of how television covered sport. Jack Millar wrote about the issue in his TV and Radio column in the Daily Star: "It used to be that everything in professional sports was honorable and faultless, as viewed on television in the States. The medium was not disposed (or it didn't dare) to criticize--it didn't exist to report on the games, it existed to glorify them and the people who controlled them. An umpire or league official was never wrong." Indeed, North American networks shied away from criticizing the sports they aired. In the early 1970s CBS brought Englishman Danny Blanchflower to the United States to provide colour commentary on the North American professional soccer league telecasts. During a national televised game Blanchflower dared to criticize how the game was being played; the network promptly fired him. NFL Commissioner Pete Rozelle would not let television cameras focus on fights between players, and the CFL requested CTV not to zoom in on injured players. "All had to be sweetness and light. Well, we all grow older, and some of us even grow up, and happily, television has been growing up in the sports field. So yesterday, when an umpire appeared to blunder in a World Series game, NBC's Curt Gowdy was able to say so" (Daily Star, October 15, 1973). Criticism was accepted a bit more readily in Canada, particularly with people like Howie Meeker doing hockey commentary.

Three years later, in 1977, television's control of sport was again questioned this time by a Congressional Sub-Committee in the United States. The sub-committee investigated whether the American networks actually controlled sporting events since they were so involved in the arranging, promoting and scheduling of them. Asked committee chairman Lionel Van Deelin: "Is the public seeing an independent event covered by electronic journalists or an event staged for and controlled by television?" (Guardian, November 29, 1977). Network control of sporting events never became that major an issue in Canada; no Royal Commission was ever established to study the matter.

Television may have influenced their opinions, but fans still controlled the number of hours per week they spent viewing a particular sport. While the popularity of hockey, football and baseball remained fairly constant, fan appreciation of other sports fluctuated. For instance golf was very popular during the 1960s and early 1970s and the networks wanted to carry as many tournaments as possible. By the late 1970s Canadian networks showed only selected tournaments. The same thing happened in tennis. In the mid-1970s tennis could be seen on four different channels on Saturday afternoons; by the early 1980s only the major tournaments were televised (Thompson, 1984). Several possible reasons have been offered for the supposed decline in popularity of golf and tennis. Viewers simply had enough of those sports and wanted to watch other ones. There was a dearth of players with whom the average fan could identify--players like golfing greats Arnold Palmer, Jack Nicklaus, and Lee Trevino, who captured the hearts and the imagination of all manner of sports fans. Another reason for reduced golf tournament coverage was likely its expense. Uncertain of its popularity, networks and advertisers/sponsors were reluctant to produce a tournament unless sure they could get their money's worth out of it.

Gauging a sport's popularity was important to the networks. Audience research kept the networks informed about certain characteristics and attributes of the public and was relevant to the planning, production, development and evaluation of a network's services. The CBC's 1981-82 annual report cites statistics providing a profile of the national audience for television sports. Table 6 shows the amount of time spent by Canadians watching sports programs in an average fall-winter week. As can be seen by the table, more than 50% of Canadians do not watch any sports programs and only between 6% and 13% watch more than five hours a week. Five hours are not that many when one considers that a hockey or football game takes from two and a half hours to three hours to play. The percentages are revealing considering that sports programs attract some of the largest audiences for Canadian television.

TABLE 6 Amount of Time Spent by Canadians Watching Sports Programs on Television in an Average Fall-Winter Week *

	Anglophones	Francophones	All Persons
Never watch any sports programs	51%	54%	53%
Less than one hour a week	13%	13%	13%
One to five hours a week	23%	27%	23%
More than five hours a week	13%	6%	11%

* Source: CBC Annual Report 1981-82 (no copyright involved).

The popularity of sport on Canadian television created a situation where many advertisers/sponsors and networks vied to acquire various sporting events to be associated with or televise. One of the major factors they had to consider in selecting events was the nature of the sport's popularity, i.e. was the sport consistently popular with viewers or did its popularity fluctuate. With the majority of viewers limiting their time spent watching sport to an average of one to five hours a week, networks and advertisers/sponsors had to pay close attention to trends and fickle viewing preferences.

3. Sports Coverage

a. Hockey

"Hockey Night in Canada" had become a Canadian tradition by the time it celebrated its eighteenth consecutive year on television in the 1970-71 season (thirty ninth year including radio). Throughout the decade fans watched the number of NHL teams grow and the seasons become longer, resulting in more games on television. But as popular as the NHL was, it was the international hockey series which dominated the 1970s for Canadian hockey fans.

The first series, the Canada-U.S.S.R. games, had perhaps the greatest effect on Canadian hockey fans and television. "The TV plum for September in Canada will have to be the Canada-Russia hockey series, provided Canada is able to put together the authentic NHL all-star line-up the planners talk about" (Daily Star, April 19, 1972). Both the CBC and CTV networks bid for the television rights to the series. Eventually both agreed to split the eight game series down the middle; each network would show two of the four games played in Canada and two of the four played in the Soviet Union. The

Soviet games were broadcast live in the early afternoon via satellite and then repeated in prime time. It was reported in Time Magazine that 16 million Canadian viewers watched the final series' game. For years Canadians had wanted their "best players," the NHL professionals, to play the best of the U.S.S.R. and it finally happened. The "voice of hockey," Foster Hewitt, provided the play-by-play and Canadians of all ages sat transfixed in front of their television sets. "A kind of pinnacle of national consiousness was reached" (Wise and Fisher, 1974:307); the series would go down in Canadian sports history as one of the classics remembered by all who watched.

The CBC broke one of its rules and allowed its English network affiliates to telecast the four games produced by CTV during the second Canada-U.S.S.R. hockey series in September 1974. The CBC's decision included its own rebroadcast stations in areas not serviced by CTV. Don MacPherson, then-vice president and general manager of the CBC's English Services Division, said, "Interest in the series is running very high and we feel that Canadians should have every opportunity possible of watching all eight games in the series despite the disruption factor to our fall schedule" (CBC Memo, September 11, 1974). Again the CBC and CTV alternated coverage and commentators and the CBC's Howie Meeker provided colour commentary for the entire series. The television rights were retained by Team Canada '74 and it was expected that more than $1 million in revenue would be realized by Team Canada's three partners--the World Hockey Association (WHA), which supplied most of the players for the Canadian team, the Canadian Amateur Hockey Association and Hockey Canada (Globe and Mail, July 19, 1974).

"Since the great hockey series between the stars of the Soviet Union and Canada in 1972, and the more recent all-star series between the Soviets and the WHA in 1974, fans throughout the world have been waiting for another get-together of the great shinny powers" (CBC Memo, December 8, 1975). On December 28, 1975, Super Series '76 began. This series involved two Soviet teams, the Central Red Army and the Wings of the Soviet, and eight NHL teams. Eight games were scheduled, five of them televised by the CBC. Super Series '76 was the first opportunity for the U.S.S.R. and NHL to meet on a straight team-to-team basis. The series was watched by audiences ranging from 5.5 to 6.7 million viewers in size (CBC Annual Report 1975-76).

The major Canadian sporting event of 1976, other than the Montreal Summer Olympics (which will be discussed in a later section), was the Canada Cup of Hockey 1976. Hockey Canada was responsible for selling the television and radio rights to the September world tournament. The television rights for the 1972 Canada-U.S.S.R. series sold for about $1.25 million, hence organizers expected to obtain about $2.5 million for this series. And they got it, from Carling O'Keefe Breweries of Canada Limited, which purchased 50% of the Canadian television sponsorship of the tournament. The contract gave the brewery options on the remaining 50% if additional sponsors were not found, plus future series. It cost Carling O'Keefe $23,000 per commercial minute, a Canadian television record. Wilmot Tennyson, then-president of Carling O'Keefe, said the brewery's participation was based on the assumption that it would attract the largest audience. ". . . I consider this a fair and excellent deal with both sides benefiting" (Globe and Mail, May 13, 1976). When queried if the series was really worth the money Tennyson replied: "What else could we do? Labatt's has football (television) and baseball (as 45% owner of the new Toronto team). Molson's has been on "Hockey Night in Canada" television from the start. Each has renewal options; 80% of beer is sold to 20% of the people and those people are sports fans" (Daily Star, May 13, 1976).

Both the CBC and CTV bid for the right to televise the Canada Cup, which involved the national teams from the United States, Finland, Czechoslovakia, Sweden, U.S.S.R. and Canada. Each country received free television feed of the games featuring their teams. The European countries were permitted to sell the rights to their games and realize a profit. In Canada a problem arose with the selling of the broadcasting rights. CTV and its Quebec affiliate (TVA) outbid the CBC for the series, however CTV reached only 88% of Canadian television sets, compared with 98% to CBC. That meant about 2 million Canadians would be unable to watch the series. Consequently former Consumer Affairs Minister Herb Gray (Liberal, Windsor West) created such a furor over this in Ottawa that the CRTC threatened to intervene (Globe and Mail, August 4, 1976). The CRTC did not have to get involved, however, because two weeks later the CBC and the tournament organizing committee agreed to share the costs of transmitting the games to areas not covered by CTV and TVA. All Team Canada games were broadcast across Canada (Globe and Mail, August 17, 1976).

Yet another NHL-U.S.S.R. hockey series came to North America in the 1970s. This time it was called the Challenge Cup and it was held in New York in February 1979. CSN produced all three of its games with the CBC carrying the first two, and CTV (plus the CBC affiliates in areas not covered by CTV) the third and final game. Expectations were high. Sponsors paid $35,700 per commercial minute, the highest price ever asked for broadcast time on Canadian television. The twenty four minutes of commercial time were 90% sold two weeks before the series began (Globe and Mail, February 3, 1979). There was world-wide coverage of the series as CSN's telecasts were shown, via satellite, in Britain, Sweden, Germany, Japan, Australia, U.S.S.R., Czechoslovakia and other Eastern bloc Communist countries. In Canada the games commanded first and second place in the list of the top twenty five CBC programs seen on the network during the second week of February. The games drew from 4 million to 4.68 million viewers a night and scored in the high 80's on the CBC appreciation index. The Challenge Cup series proved to be very popular with Canadians since the usual audience size to top the rankings was around 3 million viewers.

Topping the rankings was exactly what "Hockey Night in Canada" did consistently throughout the decades. "With the highest ratings in Canadian television 'Hockey Night in Canada' will present more games than ever this season, including those of the NHL's two newest teams, the Vancouver Canucks and the Buffalo Sabres" (CBC Memo, September 29, 1970). During the regular NHL season, CTV televised the Wednesday night games and the CBC carried Saturday games. The 1970-71 season marked the first time, because of NHL expansion, that up to three games were carried on the same evening, one on the CBC's major network, one on its eastern minor network and one on its western minor network. During the playoffs the CBC handled all the games and the finals. "On all CBC-TV 'Hockey Night in Canada' games this year, technical improvements and new cameras will ensure that the viewer at home sees a better televised game" (CBC Memo, September 29, 1970). The 1970-71 televised season consisted of a twenty four game midweek schedule on CTV and a twenty six game schedule plus playoffs on the CBC. The total cost of the package was less than $10 million, including rights and production costs; CTV's share was still within its budget and the network could find enough revenue to pay for the rights (Selke, 1980).

On December 30, 1971, the Molson family sold the Montreal Canadiens and the Montreal Forum to a Montreal group headed by lawyer Jacques Courtois. The group purchased about 58% of the shares of the Canadian Arena

Company, which owned and operated the Forum and Canadiens hockey team, for an estimated $15 million. One of the minority shareholders within the new Montreal group was Baton Broadcasting, whose controlling interest was held by John Bassett. Bassett had sold his more than 20% share of the Maple Leaf Gardens the previous September for roughly $5.9 million (he had bought the Gardens' shares in 1961 for $900,000) and had acquired a 99.45% share of the Toronto Argonaut football club for $2.25 million. Bassett said he performed two basic duties for the new Canadiens' owners. He negotiated a television contract for them and he acted as their governor to the NHL until they were ready to assume that position. The going rate for a NHL expansion franchise in 1971 was $6 million (Globe and Mail, December 31, 1971).

In 1972 the CBC was plagued by repeated work stoppages and abrupt withdrawals of service by its NABET crews. The labour situation made it impossible for the CBC to carry the NHL playoffs and the Stanley Cup finals. Hence the CBC allowed the CTV to take over the telecasts of the games. CTV stood to lose $400,000 by airing the games since it had made commitments to other sponsors, but the loss was well worth it to gain in prestige and the predicted audience response. Six months later, in October 1972, "Hockey Night in Canada" returned to the CBC network for its twentieth consecutive season. The NHL added two new teams, the New York Islanders and Atlanta Flames, to the existing league of fourteen clubs. CTV went back to televising only Wednesday evening hockey games.

The league was growing and by the mid-1970s "Hockey Night in Canada"'s sponsors--Imperial Oil, Molson, and Ford Canada--wanted MacLaren Advertising to get more sponsors involved with the program. Imperial Oil withdrew its sponsorship in 1975, which created some problems for MacLaren. It was difficult to replace a company who paid one-third ($3 million) of the program's total cost. Consequently the CBC, to protect its interests, picked up the rights to the Toronto Maple Leafs, which had been owned by Imperial Oil. A consortium was formed among Molson, the CBC and MacLaren Advertising with the Canadian Sport Network (CSN) becoming its production house. Hough recalled the situation: "You couldn't get enough Speedy Muffler Kings or McDonald's Restaurants to come together to put it together so CBC moved in and took over Imperial's liability and undertook to sell and to package their sales with sales of other commercials and other programming" (1982:18). According to Hough the CBC introduced the need for standardization of commercial unit lengths of sixty seconds and thirty seconds and introduced a number of new advertisers that were used periodically throughout a season. The CBC had control of commercial sales and CSN was in charge of administering the rights and dealing with the hockey clubs. "We are the funnel through which things go between the hockey club, the league and so on to the consortium. We produce and package 'Hockey Night in Canada' for them" (Selke, 1980:22).

In May 1975 CTV announced that it would not broadcast Wednesday night hockey the following season because of escalating production costs. The CBC, for its part, continued with Saturday night hockey though it too faced rising production expenses. NHL hockey was too consistently popular for the CBC to drop it. CTV was not happy about losing Wednesday night hockey, but it did not complain too loudly because its local stations could now make a much higher profit by showing movies or local hockey games.

To make the hockey package more attractive to the viewing audience new rules were generated, among them an alteration to the on-side pass, in August 1977. The rule was designed to speed up the game drastically and to make the game more appealing to American television audiences, in the event the NHL got an American network contract. NHL President John Zeigler thought the new rule would improve the game and reduce the number of whistles in the centre ice zone (Globe and Mail, August 27, 1977). Canadian viewers and hockey writers apparently accepted the change; nothing was even mentioned about it.

There was a great deal of media coverage a year later when Molson Breweries Limited of Canada purchased the Montreal Canadiens for $20 million and signed an estimated $3 million lease agreement for the Montreal Forum. Some observers surmised the brewery, the major sponsor of hockey and "Hockey Night in Canada," had purchased Canada's most successful franchise because its arch rival, Labatt Brewing Company Limited, had expressed interest in buying the team; Molson did not want to lose a lucrative advertising war to Labatt. Moreover, Molson may have feared losing its status as the only beer company entitled to advertise on Canadian hockey broadcasts. Furthermore, Labatt, which already owned the Toronto Blue Jays, wanted to expand its sports empire and so, break Molson's hockey monopoly (Toronto Star, August 5, 1978). By purchasing the Canadiens, Molson guaranteed its hockey monopoly and advertising vehicle for the remainder of the decade.

In the late 1970s several NHL clubs looked into selling advertising space on the boards of their arenas to generate an alternate source of revenue. In September 1978 the NHL board of governors approved a conditional plan allowing clubs to sell advertising on a one year basis. But, though a club stood to gain $500,000 a year through rink side advertising, board commercials failed to appear. Maple Leaf owner, Harold Ballard, wanted to sell board advertising right away but Canada's three NHL teams (the Leafs, Vancouver Canucks, and Montreal Canadiens) had signed an agreement with

CSN forbidding such advertisements. Moreover, the CBC had a policy which prohibited corporate signage on rink boards. Advertising on the boards did not come to fruition in the NHL and was found in Canada only during international hockey games and figure skating competitions. [It still is not officially allowed, but signage on rink boards began surfacing in the 1985-86 season.]

The NHL added three more Canadian teams to its roster in 1979-80--the Edmonton Oilers, Winnipeg Jets and Quebec Nordiques--all had previously belonged to the now-defunct World Hockey Association (WHA). The additions induced the CBC to replace its national network game every Saturday night with a pattern of regionally televised games. In other words, "whenever a team is home on Saturday that team will be on television in its own marketplace. Each team, except Montreal, also has its own mid-week package" (Toronto Star, October 4, 1979:D5). The addition of three more Canadian franchises, together with regional broadcasts, allowed hockey to continue its dominance of the ratings.

Two changes made by the NHL's Rules Committee and Board of Governors in June 1980 were influenced by television. The rules committee adopted measures aimed at curbing fighting without stopping it completely. The measures indicated the league's desire to finish games more quickly. "Long games don't help to get a national television contract in the U.S. and they make the customers restless" (Globe and Mail, June 10, 1980). Television also played a role in the Board of Governors' decision to institute a five minute sudden-death period during the 1980-81 season. One proposal was for a ten minute period but it was deemed too long for television. "Because much of the NHL's television is conducted on a local or regional basis and the teams buy the television time themselves by the half-hour, the length of the game is very important" (Daily Star, June 24, 1980). A ten minute overtime period meant the teams would have to purchase an extra hour of television time, thus greatly reducing any profit the clubs made from television.

During the early 1980s the NHL annual expenditures routinely exceeded revenues, even though attendance was rising or at least holding steady; the NHL needed a United States television contract to help it financially. But to get an American television interest, the NHL had to clean up its image which had been marred by excessive violence in the late 1970s. "The league had just finished a decade in which it had experienced a record number of ugly incidents" (Globe and Mail, December 28, 1983). In the new decade two things changed the image: the NHL started to crack-down on gratuitous violence and Wayne Gretzky emerged as the game's dominant player. A virtuoso stick handler and skater who shied away from fights, Gretzky focused attention back onto the merits of good, solid, exciting hockey. As a result violence did decline and the long delays in the game caused by brawls became a thing of the past. In the 1981-82 season the average game had 39.8 penalty minutes; that figure dropped to 33.4 minutes the next season. The average game length dropped by thirty minutes. The reduction in violence was the direct result of sport being influenced by television and advertisers/sponsors (Globe and Mail, December 24, 1983).

In April 1980, the NHL was criticised for muzzling the CBC's colour commentators and play-by-play announcers. For example one colour commentator Howie Meeker was forbidden by the Montreal Canadiens from covering any of their games--at home or away--primarily because he criticised the actions of some players and coaches during the telecasts. The team felt his critiques were adversely effecting its hockey. This was an example of sport using its influence to change the manner in which a telecast was presented.

During the late 1970s and early 1980s, hockey underwent a considerable transformation from a three hour, fight filled match without overtime (except in playoffs) to a fast-paced, lean two hour and twenty five minute contest with overtime. Telecasts became more technologically sophisticated and viewers expected coverage of the play from all angles, although some concerns arose about the "honesty" and reality of comments made by the broadcasters.

b. CFL Football

Alhough professional hockey was the most popular sport in Canada during the 1970s CFL football also drew large audiences. In the 1970s the rights for CFL football continued to be a major issue with both networks. Improved and wider coverage of the football games came with the technical advances of the decade and the CRTC's ruling on not allowing cable operators to carry CFL games. CFL football was still vital to the maturing CTV network.

Actually, to CTV, CFL football was both a necessity and a burden. CTV needed it because it attracted large audiences and it helped the network meet its Canadian content requirements. Moreover, CTV's affiliates demanded it. "It's one of our national cultural outlets--like hockey. For example, what bigger event is there in this country than the Grey Cup game? There are other programs, for example W5 and the news, we carry for special reasons but you wouldn't think of dropping them just because they don't pay" (Telegram, August 13, 1970). But the CFL was a burden financially. According to Chercover the network and its affiliates lost a great deal of money on it. In 1970 CTV spent more than $3 million producing its CFL games (including $1 million for the television rights). "There simply aren't those kind of dollars around to be paid by advertisers so you soon come to the conclusion that strictly as a business venture, football is a great way to lose money" (Telegram, August 13, 1970).

Football may have lost money for the networks but the sale of its broadcast rights was one of the CFL's few money making ventures (See Table 7 for a list of the costs of television rights during the 1970s and early 1980s). On May 21, 1970 CTV paid $1,027,500 ($822,500 for season, $205,000 for Grey Cup) to televise forty six CFL games, including the playoffs and the Grey Cup game. Through a standing agreement reached in the 1960s with CTV, the CBC was able to televise seventeen league and playoff games. Because the CRTC ruled against the cable operators importing signals from blacked out areas, the CFL was able to lift some of the blackout restrictions it had imposed to fight the cable operators (Globe and Mail, May 22, 1970).

The result was more Canadian football than ever before on television. CFL commissioner Jake Gaudaur did not see this extended television exposure as an immediate threat to stadium attendance figures: "Television should not hurt our game; not if we have a competitive league in which every game is important. I believe we have that situation now. Television ratings also indicated that when a CFL and U.S. game clash head on on television the Canadian game always wins out here in Canada" (Telegram, July 24-31, 1970:2,3).

Little change occurred in television coverage of the CFL's 1971 season. Blackout patterns remained the same as the previous season for all games except for the Grey Cup game which was not blacked out. There was one innovation; the CFL allowed the CBC to telecast four blacked out games on a forty eight hour delay basis. In addition, during the 1971 season, criticisms were made of the quality of the CFL's television coverage:

> Television's function in covering football is largely to glorify the sport and to funnel a few extra advertising dollars into the league. Asking embarrassing questions (and especially answering them), doesn't serve these ends, so it doesn't happen much, except by accident. . . . A couple of CTV men sheepishly told this writer that the network was under orders from the football league not to highlight anything unpleasant in the games (Daily Star, November 18, 1971).

This problem was addressed when the CBC became the primary rights holder in 1973 for the first time in twelve years. Commenting on the CBC's acquisition, Goodwin, then-head of the CBC Sports, said that CFL coverage had always been a priority for the CBC and the network felt it necessary and important to become the principal rights holder again (CBC Memo, November 24, 1972). The CBC fully intended to improve the quality and balance of its CFL telecast. CFL Commissioner Jake Gaudaur was pleased with the new agreement because the CBC had a larger network across Canada, "and by the CBC's willingness to assign games to CTV, more Canadians than ever before will view Canadian football on television" (CBC Memo, November 24, 1972).

On the eve of the 1974 Grey Cup game, the CFL announced that its television rights for the next three years had been awarded to the CBC. It was the first time in many years that the league had signed a multi-year television deal. The agreement allowed for playoff games in the west and east to be staggered and not played on the same day so the secondary blackouts would be automatically lifted. A primary blackout occurred within a seventy five mile radius of the originating game site and the secondary blackout applied to an area where another game was being played on the same day (CBC Memo, November 25, 1974).

TABLE 7 Canadian Football League Television Rights (in Canadian Dollars) From 1970 to 1983 #

Year	Eastern Conference	CFL Total*	Western Conference	Grey Cup	Total
1970	512,500	[822,500]	310,000	205,000	1,027,500
1971	542,500	[872,500]	330,000	212,000	1,084,500
1972	570,000	[925,000]	355,000	220,000	1,145,000
1973	600,000	[975,000]	375,000	225,000	1,200,000
1974	700,000	[1,155,200]	455,100	245,100	1,400,300
1975	714,150	[1,215,150]	471,000	245,100	1,430,250
1976	749,857	[1,244,407]	494,550	257,355	1,501,762
1977	787,350	[1,306,627]	519,277	270,223	1,576,850
1978		[1,728,930]		310,756	2,039,086
1979		[1,728,930]		310,756	2,039,086
1980		[1,728,930]		310,756	2,039,086
1981-83		[15,600,000]			

# Compiled from information in the 1972, 1974, 1976 CFL Commissioner's Annual Report, Watkins' dissertation on "Professional Team Sports and Competition Policy: A Case Study of the Canadian Football League" and selected newspaper articles.

* In 1968 the CFL Commissioner was asked to handle all sales of television rights on behalf of the league. The amount in the bracket [ ] is the actual total received by the CFL which was divided equally amongst the nine teams.

Over the years television induced the CFL to change the appearance of the football game and its surroundings. It became important to dress up the backdrop against which football was played, for example, the number of people on the field was reduced and the field markings improved. "Up to three years ago, our sidelines started to look like the cast of Ben Hur" (Gaudaur, 1980:21). So the CFL passed a regulation allowing only twelve non-uniformed people on the sideline. "For the last two years our sidelines looked blank and beautiful. And that's important in television. It's also important for sideline camera work" (Gaudaur, 1980:21). Another change made for television was the addition of a two-yard line on the side of the field beyond which photographers were not allowed. The line was to prevent still photographers and electronic cameramen from crawling up to the sidelines and colliding with players running out of bounds. "The simple reason is if a player goes into a cameraman there's potential to kill himself" (Gaudaur, 1980:21). As for field markings, the CFL put little marks on the cross lines on the turf to indicate in which direction the nearest goal line was. This was done strictly for the benefit of the television crews, but it aided viewers at home too. "Television has had that kind of influence. It's been beneficial" (Gaudaur, 1980:21).

During the 1970s the CFL encountered two major problems: the introduction of the World Football League (WFL); and a decline in popularity. The first problem emerged in February 1974 when John Bassett announced he wanted to sell the Toronto Argonauts for $3.3 million. Gaudaur and seven of the CFL's eight owners felt Bassett was in a conflict of interest because the Telegram Corporation, which owned the Argos via Baton Broadcasting, had invested money in the WFL. Moreover, Bassett's son, John F. Bassett, wanted his WFL team, the Northmen, to play in CNE stadium, along with the Argos (Globe and Mail, February 22, 1974). Bassett sold the Argos to Bill Hodgson without too many problems but the possibility of a WFL team in Canada created a crisis for the CFL, one in which the Canadian government had to intervene. The WFL appeared to threaten the continued existence of the CFL and called into question the government's 1972 policy of opposing CFL expansion into the United States, along with the introduction of an American-based football league into Canada.

Health and Welfare Minister Marc Lalonde introduced a bill to the House of Commons in April to disallow the WFL's entry into Canada. The policy also set Canadian content regulations for teams belonging to the CFL. This latter part of the bill called for a reduction to 55% of non-imports on CFL team rosters. Agreeing with Lalonde's and the government's decision Richard Alway wrote of the importance of the CFL to Canadians:

> In fact with its combination of privately and community-owned teams, its adherence to the principle of gate equalization and with a quota system which ensures a significant degree of Canadian player participation, the CFL is in some ways a sports reflection of the overall Canadian reality. It may not be everything one would wish but it is what we have, it works, and it is therefore very much worth preserving (Daily Star, April 22, 1974).

Gaudaur supported Ottawa's action because he felt that two Toronto teams would decrease attendance at Argos' games, thus putting the CFL in jeopardy because the weaker clubs depended on the Argos' payments into the gate equalization scheme. Furthermore, he agreed with Alway's contention that the CFL "in a very real sense reflects the problems of Canada in retaining an autonomous identity while having to exist next door to the affluent United States. I wouldn't suggest [that] the CFL is as important as Canada, but it ~~is~~ unique Canadiana" (Globe and Mail, April 24, 1974).

Part of that "unique Canadiana" was the Grey Cup game and during its twenty seven years on Canadian television it usually drew one of Canadian television's largest audiences. But in 1979 conditions changed; the game did not even top the ratings for its week, let alone the year. The number of viewers who watched the game fell to 4.706 million, a drop of 600,000 from 1978 (Toronto Star, December 15, 1979). The Grey Cup figures reflected the overall decline in attendance and interest in the CFL during the 1979 season.

In response to the league's waning popularity, Norm Kimball, executive manager of the Edmonton Eskimos, submitted a new television marketing proposal to the eight other clubs. The report, "put together with the help of television industry analysts, concluded that a revision of the league's current marketing plan could be accomplished with little extra money, while increasing viewer and advertiser interest and giving the CFL a bigger share of the sports entertainment market" (Globe and Mail, October 27, 1979). The future of the CFL in the 1980s was dependent on how the CFL's board of governors decided to handle the "marketing" of their sport, particularly concerning its relationship with the television networks.

In February 1980, the CFL accepted many of the concepts in Kimball's committee's report, called the Edmonton proposal, and planned to have them in place for the 1981 season. Some of the proposals included: a "Game of the Week" on network television when the league went into a full interlocking schedule in 1981; the CFL would play all its games on successive days, preferably Friday, Saturday and Sunday, although it could be three other days during the week; and within the eighteen week television package, nationally televised CFL games would appear on Fridays and Sundays, regional ones on Saturdays. The CFL executives also accepted in theory the concept of adjusting the starting times of the games across Canada to hit the major markets in prime time; the logistics had to be worked out by Gaudaur for the 1981 season (Toronto Star, February 22, 1980). A few months later the CFL announced changes involving television and playoff dates for 1981. For the first time in many years the semi-finals and finals of both conferences would be played on Sundays (previously they were played on both Saturday and Sunday). Gaudaur said it would be important to schedule the games on Sunday so they did not overlap. The CFL executives also agreed to have the league take over the sale of television rights for CFL games, which were currently marketed by the two individual conferences (Globe and Mail, May 17, 1980). Television revenue made up only about 8% of the league's gross revenues, while ticket sales (gate receipts) made up 80%, thus providing most of the teams' operating budgets of $2.4 to $4.5 million. By comparison television generated 55% to 60% of the NFL's total revenues, ticket sales less than 40% (Financial Post, July 19, 1980).

In October 1980, after what appeared to be a bidding war between two rival breweries, the CFL announced a record $15.6 million television rights contract for three years with a new sponsor--Carling O'Keefe Breweries of Canada Ltd. The figure more than doubled the $6.6 million three year deal which just had expired with Labatt. The new contract with Carling O'Keefe departed from former television procedures in that it featured more flexible regulations on blackouts which allowed more games to be televised nationally, even in the region where the game was played. The agreement also stipulated that as long as the playing times did not overlap, a game could be telecast into the area where another game was being played. The deal also permitted delayed telecasts of home games. Gaudaur said of the CFL's new lucrative contract: "We are gratified that both networks (CTV and CBC) and another non-broadcast entity have valued the league's television rights to the high degree that was manifested in their bids, which were at a level substantially higher than the amount the league currently receives" (Globe and Mail, October 16, 1980:65).

As rights holder Carling O'Keefe negotiated with both the CBC and CTV as to which games and how many would be telecast by which network. A total of sixty nine of the seventy two game schedule, plus playoffs, were televised--CTV had thirty four, the CBC had thirty three games. CTV introduced "CFL Friday Night Football" games for ten successive weeks beginning July 3. Since there were few other sports on television on Friday night, the network thought it would go over well with Canadian football fans. Fans appeared to enjoy the Friday games; in a BBM measurement for the week of August 24, 1981 the Friday night game garnered 1.262 million viewers and performed better than any game of the entire 1980 season, excluding the playoffs (Wert, 1981). Generally the 1981 season appeared to be a more successful one for the CFL. The 1981 Grey Cup game between the Edmonton Eskimos and the Ottawa Rough Riders was the top single sports attraction in Canada with 6.149 million viewers; this surpassed the number of viewers who watched the Canada Cup final and the NFL Super Bowl, according to A. C. Nielsen ratings.

The 1982 Eastern Division championship game was blacked out although the CBC, CTV and Carling O'Keefe offered to compensate the CFL for unsold seats at Toronto's Exhibition Stadium in exchange for the right to telecast the game in the Toronto-Hamilton area. The CFL governors rejected the offer because "We'd be guilty of fraud to those people who'd already bought tickets believing there'd be no live television of the game" (Globe and Mail, November 13, 1982). Esaw suggested that the CFL adopt a blackout rule similar to the NFL's; if a game was sold out seventy two hours in advance, the television blackout was lifted. Esaw's suggestion did not get very far with the CFL governors. The Grey Cup game that year attracted a record 7.863 million viewers on the three networks, the CBC, CTV and Radio Canada (French CBC). According to the A.C. Nielsen Company it was the highest rating for any program televised in Canada since 1977 for which comparable data was available. "The figures prove once again that Canadian events such as the Grey Cup and the Stanley Cup playoffs remain the big sports attractions for

Canadian audiences" (CBC Memo, December 28, 1982).

The CFL had a period of contradiction and fluctuation. CFL statistics showed that attendance at games had declined during the late 1970s and early 1980s while television audiences grew. The cost of television rights for the CFL definitely increased throughout the twelve year period, resulting in a change of owners. During the 1970s the television rights were awarded to either the CBC or CTV but in 1980 Carling O'Keefe purchased the CFL's 1981-83 rights for a record $15.6 million. As rights holder, Carling O'Keefe negotiated with both networks and increased the number of CFL games televised (90% of the seventy two league games) during the season.

The CFL governors heeded some of the recommendations of the Edmonton proposal by making its product more marketable to both television and the spectators who attended the games. The television coverage did help to provide more revenue to the CFL. The rights holders of the telecasts, who were also the advertisers/sponsors, utilized the telecasts for their own marketing purposes on Canadian television. As with the CFL, breweries played an important role in the relationship among the three parties once professional baseball teams were added in two Canadian cities, Montreal and Toronto.

c. Professional Baseball

After many decades of semi-pro and Triple A, major league baseball came to Canada in the 1970s. It started in Montreal first, and within a few years the Montreal Expos had acquired the affection of the nation. They were Canada's professional baseball team. But expansion of the sport was inevitable and by the end of the decade the Toronto Blue Jays were vying with the Expos, not only for the pennant, but for the hearts of fellow Canadians.

The rivalry between the Expos and Jays built upon the traditional rivalry between their home cities and their respective sponsors--Carling O'Keefe and Labatt.

The National League Expos attracted Canadian viewers from their first season in 1969. The CBC televised their games which drew an average audience of nearly 1.5 million viewers, even though some of the games were televised weekday afternoons. In 1970, the CBC telecast fifteen Expo games on Wednesday evenings and if time allowed carried "Tenth Inning," a post-game show hosted by colour commentator and former Los Angeles Dodger pitcher and 1962 Cy Young Award winner Don Drysdale.

The following year the CBC signed a three year agreement with the Expos giving the network exclusive television rights to the club's regular season games. In the first year of the agreement, 1971, the CBC televised twenty one regular season games on its French-language network and nineteen on the English-language network, four more than the previous year. Most of the combined network games were carried on Wednesday nights. The CBC's English network began its third year of telecasts of Expos baseball games on March 31, 1971 with a pre-season exhibition game followed by the first regular season game shown on both French and English networks on April 21, 1971 when the Expos played host to the Philadelphia Phillies. The following season the Expos returned to the CBC network in April of 1972 with twenty one regular season games televised live on Wednesday nights on the English network.

All went well in the first two years of the contract, with the CBC televising most of the Expos regular games and, in 1973, the league's All-Star game. But in 1973 the Expos pleasantly upset the normal pattern of stopping baseball coverage at summer's end, by which point the Expos were usually out of the pennant running. This time the Expos were still in the ball game well into September and by mid-fall had become serious World Series contenders. Public demand forced the CBC to expand its Expo coverage by at least a few games while the team was still in the pennant race (Globe and Mail, September 19, 1973).

In 1974 the CBC expanded its baseball coverage to include twenty one Expos season games, the All-Star game, and the World Series. Its regular season coverage extended from April to the end of September, longer if the Expos made the World Series. In August the Expos and the CBC announced a new six year agreement ending in 1980. The number of games to be televised still had to be determined, but it would end up being comparable to the number carried in earlier years, at least until the Blue Jay's arrived in 1977. Said John McHale, president of the Expos: "We are delighted with our continuing relationship with the CBC. The CBC and sponsors of the telecasts have done much to further the growth of baseball interest in Canada. This growth is clearly evidenced by the steady increase in the number of viewers to the telecasts" (CBC Memo, August 22, 1974:1). Commenting on behalf of the CBC, Thom Benson said the corporation was pleased coverage of the games was assured through 1980 and the new agreement reflected the network's confidence in baseball. The telecasts were indeed popular, averaging 1.3 million viewers per game in 1973, 2 million by July 1974. The long term agreement was good for the CBC, enabling it to plan its sports coverage in advance. The deal also "assures television viewers across the country of continued continuity of Expos play" (CBC Memo, August 22, 1974:2).

When the Toronto Blue Jays joined the American league in 1977, Labatt Brewing Company Limited (which owned 45% of the team) purchased the Jays' television rights and a few months later sold exclusive telecast rights to the

CBC. Now the CBC was carrying both Expo and Jays games. The network broadcast twenty three games in 1977 of which eleven were the Blue Jays and twelve Expos. Viewers in Ontario also received five other Blue Jays games. Said Don MacDougall, president of Labatt, of the agreement: "We are convinced that this agreement with the CBC will give the Blue Jays the kind of national exposure a young club needs, and will bring the best of both major leagues to Canadian viewers" (CBC Memo, March 29, 1977). John Hudson, director of National Promotions and Media Properties for Labatt, applauded his company's purchase of the Jays' television rights:

> The figures for the Expos were fairly good, and the Expos had not been a successful ball club up till that time. So the numbers were good and there was Canadian content, of course, which is important in Canadian television. It just seemed to me, to add the Blue Jays was a logical move. Of course it proved to be and the fact that now there were two teams increased the audiences by about 15-20% (Hudson, 1980:14).

Baseball was definitely becoming more popular with Canadians; from 1976 to 1979 the size of baseball's television audience grew by 68% (Wert, 1980). The CBC's coverage grew as well, from twenty three to thirty six home and away games, the All-Star game, and the World Series. For the first time in Canadian baseball history the country's two major league teams met in the first annual Pearson Cup on June 29th, 1978. The Cup was named after former Prime Minister Lester Pearson whose favorite game was baseball. The game was televised on the CBC network that year and for the next two years until 1980.

Though popular, the Pearson Cup was not televised in 1980. An Expos' executive said the club did not want the game televised because it might hurt ticket sales. Besides, he added, the CBC was not interested. But a CBC spokesman said his network had never been offered the game telecast. The real reason the game was not televised, he said was that the Expos had just signed a lucrative five year, $6.5 million contract with Carling O'Keefe and did not want to give rival Labatt (holder of the Jays' rights) a prime time showcase. Though the Pearson Cup was automatically included in the Jays' television package, it was not part of the Expos' contract. The home club in the Pearson Cup controlled and kept payment for the television rights. For example, in 1978 Labatt paid $75,000 to the Expos for the television rights; Labatt owned first refusal rights for English-language Expo telecasts. But the Carling O'Keefe spokesman said the brewery did nothing to obstruct the telecast; the brewery owned the French-language television rights in Montreal and the game was never even offered to them (Globe and Mail, July 29, 1980).

The CBC did not televise any major league playoff games in 1980 either. The rights holder for the Canadian television playoffs in both the American and National leagues was the new Global network, based in southern Ontario (Daily Star, October 7, 1980). CTV, for the first time, outbid the CBC for World Series coverage; CTV's coverage attracted 2.6 million viewers on the average quarter hour, a 16% increase (362,000 viewers) over the audience for the CBC's 1979 World Series telecast (Wert, 1980).

In 1981 the rivalry between Carling O'Keefe and Labatt grew more intense than that between their respective baseball teams. Indeed, both breweries believed their teams would promote beer sales and wanted to penetrate other parts of Canada with their advertisements during the games. Carling O'Keefe was certain it had overtaken Labatt as Quebec's number two brewer on the strength of its sponsorship of the Expos and Quebec Nordiques hockey team. Labatt owned 45% of the Jays, held the television rights for the team and wanted to protect its share of the the Ontario beer market. From 1978 to 1981 the CBC carried both the Jays and Expos games (which Labatt sponsored), giving the teams alternating national coverage. "When it was the Expos and Carling's week for exposure, and the Blue Jays were playing at home, the game was blacked out in Ontario, and vice versa" (Globe and Mail, March 7, 1981). The Blue Jays' home territory included all of Ontario, while the Expos' included Quebec.

Prior to the 1981 season Baseball Commissioner Bowie Kuhn resolved the conflict between the Jays and Expos, or rather Labatt and Carling O'Keefe, by allowing each team to telecast fourteen games in the other's home market in 1981 and twelve times in 1982 whenever the other team was not playing at home (Toronto Star, March 14, 1981). But as it turned out, Quebec interest in the Jays was so low the team never bothered broadcasting its games there in 1981. In addition, Labatt took steps to keep the Expos out of the Toronto market. Labatt switched networks, giving CTV the right to telecast forty of the Jays' games in Ontario and other parts of Canada for each of the next five years. The brewery wanted greater coverage in the Toronto area than the CBC could provide in an integrated schedule. Explained Labatt president Sydney Oland: "As part owner of the Blue Jays, we are concerned a Montreal team is getting so much media exposure in our home market--Toronto" (Globe and Mail, March 14, 1981). As part of the deal Labatt agreed to sponsor both the World Series and the American and National League Championship series in 1981, 1982 and 1983, the 1982 annual major league all-star game, the weekly "This Week in Baseball" show, plus Wednesday evening Jays' games. The financial details were not discussed but the deal was estimated to be worth $3 million per year to the Blue Jays.

CTV's coverage of the 1981 World Series was the highest rated World

Series on record with reported audiences of 3.1 million. Using A.C. Nielsen audience measurements of the World Series since 1976 there appeared to be a 79% increase in women viewers, from 643,000 in 1976 to 1.15 million in 1981; no explanation was given for the increase. Of the total audience who watched the World Series 50% were men eighteen years and older (1.59 million). According to the statistics baseball viewing was on the increase, particularly among adults eighteen to forty nine years of age (Wert, 1981).

In 1982 Canadian baseball fans, particularly in southern Ontario, were able to watch more baseball games on television than ever before as both networks televised more of their respective team's games. The increase in telecasts indicated baseball had become a popular sport on Canadian television. As Dennis Braithwaite identified:

> . Ten years after Marshall McLuhan declared it an unsuitable sport for the television age, baseball is flourishing as never before, nowhere more than on television. . . . Baseball is a feast to the eyes on colour television, even night games. Everything that happens can be seen without effort. . . . Nothing is hurried, nothing is missed. Cameras give us so many angles on the play and the players, by means of split screens (the pitcher winding up, the guy on first trying to steal second), inserts, close-ups, long, medium and panoramic shots, that the static quality of the game, which can be slightly boring from the stands, is overcome or disguised (Daily Star, June 9, 1976).

Baseball defied early observers who had dismissed it as unsuitable for television; Canadian baseball fans loved the televised version of the game.

d. Professional Golf

Another sport which "flourished" on television was professional golf. By the late 1960s golf had become very popular on television. As the Star

Week observed, golf professionals had grown accustomed to television's intrusion back in the 1950s when the medium had sought out new sports and heroes to present to its audiences. Golf and Arnold Palmer offered the charisma television was after. By 1970 most major championships: the United States, British, and Canadian Opens; the Masters and the PGA; were telecast, along with several so-called tournaments such as the Astrojet Classic and the CBS Golf Classic on both American and Canadian networks. Noted a writer in Star Week:

> This is another example of TV's influence. A major network sets up its own tournament, puts up a quarter of a million dollars in prize money, plays off two-man teams for a week, and spreads out the "competition," one hour at a time, over the entire winter. TV killed the match-play format of the PGA championship. Its priorities have become first priorities--which is why sudden-death playoffs start at the first TV hole (often the 14th or 15th) instead of the first. And, most important, why the amount of prize money has zoomed to an incredible $7 million this year. . . . Television moves in like the National Guard. Two hundred technicians, a fleet of trucks, 25 miles of cable, from six to 15 cameras (Star Week, 1970).

Each year the CBC provided extensive coverage of the Canadian Open, increasing the number of cameras and commentators used and number of holes covered. At the 1975 Canadian Open one of the sixteen cameras used to cover the action was put in the Goodyear Blimp to give viewers a panoramic view of the Royal Montreal Golf Course. Meanwhile the other cameras were strategically placed to follow all the action on the last five holes of the course. Five commentators covered the play, one at each of the five final holes, and Canadian Golf Hall of Famer Stan Leonard provided the colour commentary and expert analysis (CBC Memo, July 11, 1975).

The CBC announced in May it had signed a three year agreement to televise the Peter Jackson Classic, the only Canadian stop on the Ladies Professional Golf Association tour. For the first time in Canadian golf history the telecast was beamed directly from the Cedar Brae Golf and Country Club across Canada via the Anik satellite. Said Gordon Craig, then-head of the CBC Sports: "We will make use of Telesat's Earth Station, a portable reflecting dish, to beam the programs to Anik. From there the signal will be sent back and forth across the full CBC-TV network on Saturday and Sunday. It is the first time the portable equipment has been used for coverage of golf" (CBC Memo, May 28, 1976). The network covered the last four holes on the final two days of the tournament; four play-by-play commentators and one expert analyst covered the action.

In 1977 the CBC became the first major North American network to provide daily live coverage of an entire golf tournament, the Canadian Open. The CBC purchased the tournament television rights for an undisclosed sum (reportedly well above the $56,000 it had spent in 1976) and then inaugurated an unprecedented four days of coverage. The network telecast the final six holes along with two hours of play each day from the Glen Abbey Golf Club in Oakville, Ontario. In previous years the CBC had covered only the last two days of the Open. R. H. Grimm, tournament chairman, said that the CBC had added much prestige to the event by doubling the telecast time (Financial Post, July 2, 1977).

Glen Abbey proved to be challenging for both the television crew and golfers. Its design and the manner in which the fairways and greens were laid out rendered television coverage difficult. Twenty three cameras, ninety five technicians and scores of service people were needed to cover the final seven holes of the course. For most large sporting events, the CBC used one mobile unit; for this tournament the network had four--one central unit with three satellite compounds. Some cameras required from 2,500 to 3,000 feet of cable to connect them to a compound. It was a tremendous amount of work for the technicians (Closed Circuit, July 29, 1977).

The CBC featured all of the most prestigious golf tournaments in 1978 but they were mostly non-Canadian. The tournaments included the Dinah Shore Winner's Circle and The Masters in April, the Memorial Tournament in May, the Peter Jackson Ladies' Classic, the United States Open and Canadian Open in June and the British Open in July. Coverage usually consisted of the third and final rounds of play, except in the Canadian Open. Once again twenty three cameras, including several hand-held ones, covered the Canadian Open. In addition a fifty-foot-high, crane-mounted camera followed the action from the thirteenth to eighteenth holes and one commentator, equipped with a wireless microphone, followed the leaders around the final holes. It was the first use of a roaming commentator in golf coverage. The emphasis on this Open's coverage was showing the viewer the game from the players' perspective (CBC Memo, May 29, 1978).

In 1980 the CBC improved its Canadian Open coverage again. This time a 160-member crew set up at the Royal Montreal Golf Club, with twenty five cameras, three slow motion machines, four mobile units, 14,000 feet of television cable, and over 100 telephones requiring fifty miles of cable. Preparations for Open coverage had begun six weeks before the event (Montreal Gazette, June 21, 1980). The CBC's executive producer Bob Moir streamlined the commentator coverage of the Canadian Open that year; two CBC commentators and a colour commentator all worked from a specially constructed commentator building overlooking three of the final five holes of play.

Golf did well on Canadian television during the 1970s, partly because of the hard-work and vision of some television professionals and partly because of the popularity of several top American golfers. But the game's popularity waned slightly in the late 1970s and early 1980s, perhaps because networks could not afford to televise it as often (golf coverage was incredibly expensive to produce), or because the fans no longer had golfing heroes with whom they could identify. Unlike golf, soccer never did achieve much of a following; it suffered from a lack of audience identification and knowledge in North America.

e. Professional Soccer

The CBC tried to launch soccer as a prime time sport in the early 1970s but the sport was not well received by Canadian viewers. A few years later the North American Soccer League, convinced television exposure could help the sport, tried to convince the networks to carry soccer. This time soccer received a slightly better response, but it remained one of the least appealing television sports.

When Don Goodwin became the head of the CBC sports department in 1971 one of his first major changes was the launch of soccer as a prime-time sport on Saturday evenings in the summer. This resulted in a substantial positive mail response from soccer devotees, but it also attracted criticism from the CBC affiliates. Goodwin thought Saturday night summer soccer could work since the public was still excited over the World Cup. In addition, the immigrant population in some cities was large and receptive to soccer. The one difficulty with that idea was that while there was a large immigrant population, they were unable to give up their allegiances to old-country teams in favor of Canadian ones. Moreover, most of the immigrants did not watch much television because it was in English. If they supported soccer, they did so in person at the games (Goodwin, 1982).

Goodwin obtained soccer television rights very economically since nobody else in North America appeared interested. He tried to Canadianize the game for television by using two Canadian commentators as well as a soccer expert. "We didn't want it to seem to be just another foreign product. So we used Bob Pennington for his expertise, a Canadian play-by-play announcer and a Canadian on the sidelines interviewing. . . . It was not a successful experiment" (Goodwin, 1982:35). Canadians did not seem to want to watch soccer on television. There are several possible explanations: most Canadians did not have a background in the sport and did not know what to look for during play; most Canadians could not identify with any of the players on the field as they did not have any soccer heroes; television coverage was a problem in that if shot wide, showing everyone on the field, that displeased hockey and football fans accustomed to close-ups and isolation camera work and if the game was shot close-in, as most North American sports are done, soccer fans would be disappointed and upset because they liked to watch the play develop and the actions of all the players.

A few years later, in August 1976, the North American Soccer League decided that television exposure was more important than television rights and sold CBS the rights to the league final for a mere $12,000. Explained NASL Commissioner Phil Woosnam: "We might sell the television rights cheaply, considering what football, hockey and baseball get, but the exposure is there and no doubt will help sell the game. . . . When you want national television you have to go with the networks" (Globe and Mail, August 26, 1976). In buying the rights so cheaply CBS had also made a commitment to televise seven NASL games live the next season. The league would get its needed television exposure.

In Canada the two major networks tried to bring Canadian viewers the 1978 World Cup soccer games but were unable to afford the television rights. The North American rights were sold to the New York-based firm Magnaverdi, which in turn sold the Canadian rights to the Toronto-based firm Mascia Enterprises. Both CTV and the CBC made several substantial offers for the whole series, but the organizers turned them down, offering the networks instead some parts which Esaw referred to as "garbage" (Globe and Mail, June 2, 1978). As a result the World Cup series was shown on closed-circuit outlets in Montreal, Ottawa, Toronto, Hamilton, London, Windsor, Calgary, Edmonton, Vancouver and Victoria. The president of FIFA, soccer's governing body, predicted that 32 billion people in 130 nations would watch the thirty eight matches of the World Cup and expected that more than one billion would see the final game alone (Sunday Star, May 28, 1978).

On February 6, 1979, Global Communications paid $2.5 million for controlling interest (85%) in Toronto's NASL franchise, the Toronto Blizzards. "For the first time, the team will be promoted, marketed and gain television exposure on the Global Television Network" (Globe and Mail, March 28, 1979). Global did not want to buy a soccer club but it wanted the television rights to a particular sport and knew if it did not buy a team and sew up the television rights the big networks could step in at any time. The network chose soccer after its researchers discovered that the game had tremendous growth potential among both men and women in Canada, a large number of schools had switched from football to soccer because it was safer, and it ranked second only to tennis as the sport of greatest interest to women. "Every television executive knows that woman appeal is the key to the success of a show, luring in lovely advertising dollars" (The City, June 10, 1979:29). Global president Paul Morton agreed soccer had potential, but he worried Global was getting involved a few years too early. As well as the Canadian television exposure the NASL acquired a national network contract with ABC which allowed for nine games--five regular season, three playoffs and the final--to be shown over the season in the first year of a two year package. It was an important move for the league but unfortunately for them, the first year ratings were low.

In May and June of 1979, the CBC televised four major international soccer matches on "SportsWeekend;" they were the F.A. Cup Final, European Cup of Winners, FIFA 75th Anniversary Match and the European Cup of Champions. The next year the CBC obtained the television rights for the European Cup Soccer finals and televised both the Consolation Final and the Final games. "CBC Television Sports is pleased to bring Canadians these two major events as part of our continuing commitment to televise the best international soccer available" (CBC Memo, May 15, 1980).

As the Toronto Blizzards headed into its second season, Global Sports Enterprises Ltd. (a wholly owned subsidiary of Global Communications) reflected on the $1.2 million deficit incurred during the team's first year. Mike Anscombe, sports director for Global Television and the play-by-play commentator, thought soccer had problems as a television sport because Canadians were unfamiliar with the game, it was difficult finding natural play interruptions for commercials, and commentators were unsure of how sophisticated to make their coverage--did they need to explain common soccer terms like "dribble" and "tackle" for the uninitiated, or would this really offend soccer enthusiasts. Blizzards President Clive Toye, though he thought soccer coverage on television had improved remarkably in five years, nonetheless maintained the best seat was still in the stands (Starweek, April

5-12, 1980). Others seemed to agree with Toye because attendance at NASL games in 1980 increased. But the most important factor to the league that year was the game's performance on television. There were promising signs. An average audience of 4 million viewers tuned into ABC's first four soccer telecasts in 1980. Said Woosnam: "Television is the key. The key factor is that we have to get the games on later in the day when we know people are at home and watching sports. We want to create a full season on TV, beginning in April, when kickoffs will be at 3:30 p.m. instead of 2 p.m. as they are now" (Globe and Mail, June 14, 1980).

Although television exposure was considered key to the NASL's success, its top priority in 1981 became increasing attendance. The league did not receive a great deal of money from the American television networks and relied almost entirely on gate receipts for its income. ABC reduced its coverage of soccer to just a playoff game and the Soccer Bowl following disappointing ratings in 1980. Both ESPN and the USA networks, however, agreed to show at least thirty five games a year in a two-year deal with the NASL. "From a dollar's point of view we are not getting too much, but what is important is the increased exposure soccer will gain" (Toronto Star, March 28, 1981). In Canada a group from Molson Company Ltd. of Montreal arranged to telecast ten season games. In August 1981, Global Communications sold the Blizzards, but retained its television rights.

The early 1980s were not good for the NASL; three clubs folded after the 1980 season; seven more followed at the end of 1981 and the sixteen teams who survived lost money. Even so the NASL's Woosnam thought soccer could still be sport of the 1980s because it was number two in the United States in terms of youth participation. "The turning point will come when network TV wants to show NASL games on a regular basis" (Toronto Star, November 11, 1981). But a network contract proved to be just a dream for the NASL.

Though the NASL had trouble obtaining a television contract, World Cup soccer did not. In October 1980 Labatt acquired the Canadian broadcasting rights to the World Cup soccer package for an undisclosed, but likely large, sum. The package included the 1981 and 1982 European Champion Clubs' Cup and European Cup winners. The brewery then negotiated with the CBC, CTV and independent stations for the placement of the games. The CBC scheduled thirty seven games on both its English and French networks during the month when the finals were played. It was the first time Canadians were able to watch live matches of the World Cup at home; previously the rights were sold to a closed circuit company. Labatt's Hudson discussed the brewery's sponsorship of the World Cup games: "We feel this is a very important step for soccer in Canada. The problem is that most Canadians have not seen world class soccer on a consistent basis and hopefully they'll become more educated by this" (Globe and Mail, October, 1980). The CBC was very pleased to have extensive coverage of the World Cup because of the prestige of the event, the number of countries which participated, the national pride involved and, most important, the popularity of the event with television audiences. An estimated 5.9 million Canadians watched the final game between Italy and West Germany.

The beginning of the 1970s heralded the arrival of professional soccer on Canadian fields and television sets. Initially the experiment with televised soccer proved to be a failure because the potential audience either did not identify with the game, or did not speak English, or did not like the manner it was televised and preferred to watch it in person. However, by the 1980s fan understanding and appreciation for the game began to develop as more schools and community leagues introduced the sport to their young people. This has meant an increase, once again, in the televising of soccer on Canadian networks.

f. Canadian Interuniversity Athletic Union (CIAU)

During the 1960s and 1970s sport at United States universities was big business on all three American television networks. The same could not be said in Canada. In the late 1960s the Canadian Interuniversity Athletic Union (CIAU) signed a ten year contract with the CBC. During the ensuing decade attempts were made to make CIAU sports popular with Canadian television viewers but they were not that successful.

On January 9, 1971, the CBC began a new eleven week colour series on Canadian university sports entitled "Canadian College Sport." It was to add "further scope and depth" to the network's coverage of CIAU sports, which to that point had not been very extensive despite its ten year contract with the CIAU. There was a slight problem with the title of the series; the CIAU disliked the word "college" in the program's title. The CBC argued that "Canadian College Sport" was a better alliteration than "Canadian University Sport." Moreover, Don Goodwin, then-head of CBC Sports, thought Canadian viewers would associate the program with United States college sports, which were of very high calibre. But to the CIAU, "college" had a different connotation and denoted some "little second class" institution. Nevertheless, Goodwin convinced the CIAU to go along with his title. It was Goodwin's intention to formalize a regular Saturday afternoon program viewers could relate to and to include university sports. But Goodwin found working with the CIAU frustrating primarily because of the difficulty encountered with the universities having established leagues and schedules wherein one could not predict beforehand whether a game was going to be a major event or not. In addition, many playoffs used a round-robin format which also made it difficult for television personnel to adapt to. Both situations made it tough to pick games for television audiences. "We were not trying to mold college sport to our needs particularly, but trying to showcase it in the best way we could. If it worked well then it was going to be a better television property and what we were striving for was to be able to guarantee that we kept getting the best foot forward" (Goodwin, 1982:30). The CBC tried to influence the CIAU to select championship sites in advance so the network could then schedule equipment for that location. The CIAU's problem with that suggestion was that if the local school was not in the tournament it would be very difficult to attract an audience. "They were right. That was what was happening. We understood that but that was the enigma we faced" (Goodwin, 1982:32). Unfortunately for both the CIAU and the CBC the program was not very successful with the audiences and was eventually dropped.

Said Goodwin of the relationship between the CBC and the CIAU:

> They certainly tried to be co-operative in all ways possible but they were still really a group of separate institutions having to fend for themselves as far as costs were concerned and they were essentially educational institutions and not big league sports institutions as some of the U.S. schools are oriented.
> On top of that, the truth of the matter was that while we did pay the rights fee, there was not enough money in it for us to be really that influential. It was not really in their financial interest to hop and jump when we wanted them to. But there was a genuine mutual interest. The difficulty was that university sport in Canada was not significant (Goodwin, 1982:32).

Indeed, the last year of its ten year contract the CIAU received only $10,000 from the CBC, hardly enough to justify changing its regular season and playoff schedules in all the various sports. The CBC continued to cover major championships as best they could after dropping the sports programs, but Goodwin felt the problems between the CIAU and the CBC were never really resolved.

When the CBC-CIAU contract expired in 1979, the CIAU signed a new one with CTV. This agreement gave the Union more money for its television rights but, according to one television expert, gave the CIAU less television exposure. In the next few years CTV televised some CIAU championships but they were not very popular with the television audience. By 1982 both networks were reluctant to make a commitment to cover Canadian university sport. The CIAU was as equally reluctant to work with the major networks without the backing of a major sponsor. In order to alleviate some of the CBC's and CTV's misgivings about televising interuniversity sport, the CIAU presented "The CIAU Commitment" in its television coverage proposal to both networks. "The CIAU Commitment" set down the CIAU's aims and objectives and outlined what the CIAU was prepared to do to develop a mutually beneficial relationship with television. As a result CTV signed a two year agreement providing the CIAU with $37,500 in 1983-84 and $45,000 in 1984-85.

g. General Sports Coverage

Although both the CBC and CTV televised a variety of sports during the 1970s and early 1980s very little was written in their documentation about the amount and type of coverage. The CBC's and CTV's sports coverage reflected most of the major sporting interests, both amateur and professional. The decade's schedules included NHL hockey, a number of Canada-U.S.S.R. hockey series, CFL football, Expos and Blue Jays baseball and the World Series, Canadian Open Golf and other major golf tournaments, the Canadian and World Curling Championships, the Canada Games, the Canadian and World Figure Skating Championships, and a variety of events in badminton, basketball, swimming, soccer, track and field, horse racing, tennis, skiing and gymnastics.

During the 1970s more and more international sporting events were televised on the Canadian networks and this tended to take the attention away from national amateur sports events. One of the CBC's commitments during this period was the broadcasting of the Canada Games. Goodwin used his position as head of sports at the CBC to ensure that Canadian amateur sports had an opportunity to be televised nationally. "The Canada Games concept was important because most of those sports at that point in Canada couldn't command television time of their own but collectively they could with the great ceremony and the occasion of the Canada Games" (Goodwin, 1982:7). Some of the participating athletes would perhaps eventually represent Canada at one of those major international events. The Games provided a venue for a number of sports which normally would not have received coverage. The federal government was interested in televising the Canada Games and provided funds for this purpose. A pattern began in the early 1970s which has continued into the 1980s.

The Olympics also influenced what was seen on television. For example, Olga Korbut's performances in the 1972 Olympics generated an interest in and upsurge in gymnastics lessons and competition among young girls in Canada. Aware of interest in gymnastics, the CBC ran two, ninety minute specials on gymnastics in July 1974; the first presented highlights on the Canadian Gymnastics Championships, and the other contained highlights of a Canada versus U.S.S.R. meet.

The CBC instituted a new series called the "CBC-TV Sports Specials" in 1975. One of the first programs, a "Winner-Take-All," $1 million tennis match between John Newcombe and Jimmy Connors, aired live on April 26. "The match is expected to draw the biggest viewing audience ever for a tennis game, with the possibility of surpassing the famous Riggs-King go-round. . . . this should prove to be one of the biggest of the year" (CBC Memo, April 7, 1975). In June both the Canadian Swimming Championships and Canadian National Table Tennis Championships were carried on "Sports Specials."

In July 1975 the CBC Sports announced it would televise Canadian amateur sports for the next year as an introduction to the 1976 Montreal Olympics. "The emphasis during the coming year will be on pre-Olympic sports, which will offer us an opportunity to bring these exciting contests to our viewers, and to look at the venues from which we will be telecasting during the Games" (CBC Memo, July 4, 1975). Among the sporting events covered were the Olympic sports of volleyball, archery, equestrian competitions, field hockey, wrestling, swimming and diving. The pre-Olympic programs were in addition to the CBC's usual complement of professional sports and amateur sports not considered part of the Olympics.

A few years later, in April 1979, the CBC introduced a new sports anthology series called "SportsWeekend." Shown on Saturdays and some Sundays for eleven months of the year, the program contained a minimum of three hours of national and international coverage of a wide variety of sports. It was to provide competition for CTV's "Wide World of Sports." In a sports anthology program the total time allotment, for example three hours, is broken into a number of segments and a different sporting event is shown in each segment. ABC launched the "first" anthology series in 1961 with "Wide World of Sport." CTV's program of the same name received weekly "feeds" of material from ABC to supplement its own segments and was very popular with Canadian viewers. Even with access to the ABC "feeds" Esaw worried the new CBC program would siphon off CTV's audience: "From the look of things, 'SportsWeekend' has got the budget, the manpower and the facilities to bury us. They're going live right opposite us. They plan to blow our brains out" (TV Guide, April 21, 1979). According to John Hudson, then-head of the CBC Sports, "SportsWeekend" would be different from other North America sports anthologies because the CBC would use live rather than taped items: "It's the packaging that's different. We're combining our Saturday and Sunday shows into one program and will go live to the entire network at the same time. We feel we're going a step further than ABC, NBC, CBS and CTV in the scope of our efforts with a lot more emphasis on amateur sport than any of the American networks" (Champion, March 1979:17).

Both networks were after the same type of events, with world championships and major international competitions topping the list. Esaw said that CTV tried to sign as many world championships as possible but the network also had an obligation to fill the gaps with minor events that offered good action and that people had not seen before. Jim Thompson, executive producer of "SportsWeekend" said: "We're aiming for the big events, one step below hockey, baseball and football, that can stand by themselves" (TV Guide, April 21, 1979). The CBC paid $50,000 for a package of eleven world championships, which included swimming, rowing, cycling and track and field, for "SportsWeekend." But not all of the sports included in both networks' respective programs were the traditional "serious" ones. There were also entertaining novelty items whose main appeal was entertainment, for example the tractor-pulling contests. As Hudson put it, "We're in the entertainment business, too." In some cases, like the world championship package, the networks had to pay for the telecast rights, with the network who bid the most setting the event. In other cases the networks did not pay for the rights but offered better or more extensive coverage of the event than their rival. However the sporting event was obtained, the final product--the anthology program--appeared to be popular with television viewers.

During the early 1980s both networks used their sport anthologies to showcase important sporting events. For example, the CBC presented its coverage of seven major Canadian and World curling championships during the year on "SportsWeekend;" previously these events would have been separate programs or not carried at all. Also in 1981 the CBC covered all ten men's World Cup downhill ski races on "SportsWeekend," as did CTV on its "Wide World of Sport." It was the first time the networks carried all ten downhill races.

Sporting anthologies were an important feature of television sports programming during the late 1970s and early 1980s. The Olympics became a major television "event" every four years, as well as in the pre-Olympic year. They, perhaps, were the best anthology television offered. In addition to the Olympic Games, other "Games" such as the British Commonwealth and Pan-American, were telecast. On other occasions, anthologies were built by bidding on various championships and telecasting the events in specified time-slots.

h. Major International Multi-Sport Games

Of the two Canadian networks the CBC was most involved in the broadcasting of major international multi-sport games. Throughout the 1950s and 1960s the CBC provided coverage of the Olympics, the Pan-American and British Commonwealth Games. For the 1970 British

Commonwealth Games held in Edinburgh, Scotland, the CBC carried special daily reports on the action on a one-day delay basis. Six commentators (three English and three French) were sent to cover the activities of the nearly 200 Canadian athletes competing in nine sports. The CBC concentrated most of its attention on swimming and track and field with only highlights of the other sports. CTV showed daily news highlights from the Games as well.

After ten years of having Olympic television rights levied by the Organizing Committee of an Olympic Games, the International Olympic Committee (IOC) in 1970 modified its Rule 21 so that all payments for television rights and financial contributions in connection with television belonged to the IOC. The IOC then divided the amount between the Organizing Committee, International Federations, National Olympic Committees and the IOC. This represented a turning point for the IOC because during the 1970s and 1980s, the amount of money paid for television rights rose dramatically and the IOC benefited financially. The television revenue became crucial to the IOC's operations and future.

In 1970 Montreal won the bid to host the 1976 Olympic Games and in anticipation of becoming the host broadcaster, the CBC immediately set up a committee to conduct a preliminary investigation of what would be required and involved in the job. The host broadcaster role had traditionally been given to the state broadcasting organization of the country staging the Games. The host was responsible for planning, providing and installing all necessary facilities to allow seventy television and 110 radio organizations (about 4,000 people) from around the world to cover the Games.

Continuing in its tradition of covering the Olympic Games, the CBC signed an agreement in March 1971 with the NHK and the Sapporo Olympic Organizing Committe for exclusive Canadian radio and television rights in both French and English for the 1972 Winter Olympics in Sapporo, Japan. In 1969 NBC had paid $6.4 million for the American television rights for the Sapporo Games but the CBC did not pay that much for the Canadian rights. There was a live colourcast of the opening ceremonies and daily programs throughout the Games. In total, including radio and television, the CBC provided Canadians with thirty five hours coverage of the 1972 Winter Olympics. "The coverage, which began with a live colour broadcast of the opening ceremonies, included 12 hours of programming on each of the CBC's television networks, French and English" (CBC Annual Report 1971-72:19). When the Sapporo games concluded, the CBC sports departments began to prepare for their coverage of the 1972 Olympic Games in Munich.

For the Munich Olympics, the CBC planned to provide "record" coverage of sixty seven hours of special programming on television and radio--twenty five hours CBC French television network, twenty four hours English television and nine hours each French and English radio. Coverage, via satellite, began with a live colour broadcast of the opening ceremonies August 26th and continued with daily highlights lasting one to two hours each afternoon. In addition, the CBC broadcast an hour of highlights each evening until the closing September 10th. The Deutsches Olympia Zentrum, host broadcasting organization, provided pooled coverage of all events to the visiting broadcasters and provided networks like the CBC with facilities to select and package material to be sent back home. The Germans used at least 23 mobile units, 135 cameras and 2,100 technicians to provide coverage. ABC had paid $13.5 million for exclusive American television rights and planned an unprecedented 67.5 hours of prime time satellite coverage consisting of three hours of highlights from 8 to 11 each evening supplemented by afternoon offerings on the weekend. The planned coverage of the Games for the CBC, ABC and the rest of the world's networks was disrupted on September 5 when Arab terrorists attacked the Olympic village and killed two Israelis and held nine others hostage for hours before eventually murdering them. The Munich Massacre, as it became known, and the activities which followed it became prime time news coverage. A major sport festival had again been subjugated to political dogma and international terrorism. The United States networks, in particular, used the Comsat satellite to provide around the clock live news reports from the Olympic Village.

During 1972 the Montreal Olympic Organizing Committee (Comite Organisateur des Jeux Olympiques) (COJO), began negotiations to sell United States and world television rights for the 1976 Summer Olympics. There was a great deal of controversy involved with both types of rights but initially it was with the sale of the American rights. ABC was awarded them but NBC charged that they were attained through secret and non-competitive procedures. NBC officials had been told by a member of COJO that ABC had been assured negotiating terms which granted ABC the right to meet any other offer and, by meeting it, retain United States rights against all other bidders. Corydon B. Dunham, vice president and general counsel for NBC, called such an assurance a "flagrant departure from the standards and ideals for which the Olympics stand" and it gave ABC "so preferential a position that the ability of any other party to obtain U.S. television rights has been nullified in advance and bidding procedure has been a sham" (Globe and Mail, December 21, 1972). On January 3, 1973, ABC announced it had been awarded the United States television rights for $25 million, almost twice what it paid for the television rights to the Munich Olympics. A COJO official denied there had been any under the table dealings with ABC and stated that the other two American networks, CBS and NBC, had not even submitted official bids.

Included in ABC's $25 million deal was the use by the network of the picture coverage provided by the host network. By January 1973, there was still no host network. The CBC confirmed in a statement January 5, 1973 that providing television coverage for the Summer Olympics was well beyond its resources and the corporation would need additional financing if it was to assume the host broadcaster role. In February 1973, Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau told the House of Commons that if the CBC became the host broadcaster for the Games it would cost Ottawa up to $25 million.

The CBC committee which investigated the host broadcaster role, submitted a proposed model for coverage of the 1976 Games. In order to manage the mammoth undertaking of host broadcasting the CBC created a division or subsidiary called the Olympic Radio and Television Organization (ORTO). ORTO's function was to set up the technical facilities and all the radio, television and film services required to cover the twenty one sports in the Olympic program and to provide all equipment and services needed to ensure that coverage of the Games was seen around the world.

While the CBC concentrated on preparations for the 1976 Summer Olympics, CTV, in October 1973, was awarded exclusive Canadian television rights for the 1976 Winter Olympics in Innsbruck, Austria. The contract was the first television agreement between the Innsbruck Olympic Committee and any television network in the world (Globe and Mail, October 30, 1973).

In 1974 the CBC sent its sports coverage team to New Zealand for the Tenth British Commonwealth Games in Christchurch and through the use of two satellites--a mid-Pacific one and Anik--the network provided a total of thirteen hours of English television and twelve and a half hours of French television coverage of the Games, some of it live. Along with their own forty employees--six television commentators (three English, three French), five radio announcers (three English, two French), twelve technicians, five television producers, two radio producers, four script assistants, two production assistants and four executive headquarters staff members--the CBC hired three guest experts from Canada for track and field, diving and swimming (Globe and Mail, February 2, 1974). In response to criticism of the CBC's coverage of the games, Dennis O'Neill, manager public relations for the CBC, wrote that the network in its English television coverage showed the performance of every one of Canada's 150 athletes. He expressed the CBC's philosophy with regard to Games coverage:

> We do not believe that Games coverage (whether Olympic, Commonwealth or British Empire) begins with the crack of the timer's gun and ends with the breaking of the ribbon at the finish line. Therefore our coverage consists of much more than the actual competitions. We attempted to show the human side of our athletes and their training methods, the pomp and ceremony of the visits of royalty to the Games, plus the unique and colorful aspects of this distant nation which Canadians know so little about. . . . We remain convinced however, that most Canadians want to see and hear about all aspects of the Games, not only who won and lost (Globe and Mail, February 19, 1974).

Seven months later, on September 13, 1974, CBC agreed to become host broadcaster and signed an agreement with COJO. In doing so the CBC also obtained exclusive television rights for Canada. Once the International Olympic Committee ratified the agreement, the CBC announced on October 22, 1974 that it was moving into full implementation of its Olympic plans as Canada's Olympic network and as host broadcaster. ORTO would be responsible for the host broadcaster role, and the sports departments of both the English and French CBC networks would provide the domestic coverage. The CBC planned to broadcast live coverage of the Games in both languages for a minimum of eight to nine hours daily coast to coast and in the far north via Canada's domestic communications satellite, Anik. Operated by Telesat Canada, the satellite would also provide live colour television coverage of the Games to television viewers around the world and would function as the communications link between Montreal and Canada's two ground terminals on the east and west coasts for the Intelsat-Atlantic and Intelsat-Pacific communications satellites connecting North America with Europe and Asia respectively. "The system would provide two simultaneous channels of video out of Montreal, most likely relayed via the backup Anik II satellite" (Globe and Mail, June 4, 1974).

The 1976 Winter Olympics were held in Innsbruck, Austria. ABC paid $10 million for the television rights and telecast forty three hours worth of Olympics to the United States. CTV paid $360,000 for the Canadian television rights and provided forty five hours of coverage to Canadian viewers. The Olympic coverage was well received by Canadian audiences.

In its dual role as host broadcaster and domestic servicer the CBC faced the most monumental challenge of its history with its television coverage of the Olympic Games. Equipment was drawn from both the private (CTV) and public broadcasting sectors. Every piece of the CBC equipment was taken to Montreal and ORTO alone required some 1,600 personnel for the task. The CBC used 19 mobile units, 87 videotape recorders, 105 cameras, 21 slow motion videotape recorders, 4,500 audio circuits, 35 video circuits, 50 radio and 9 television studios in its coverage. Gordon Craig, then-head of television sports for the CBC's English network, said of the CBC's plans for its Olympic coverage:

> We have to ensure the Olympic Games are recognized as the biggest festival Canada has ever hosted by properly presenting this

> spectacle to the Canadian public. It will be up to us to customize the picture for our Canadian television audience. . . . Our first priority is to telecast record performances as they happen, but very close to that is our determination to give complete coverage of Canadian athletes. We have the equipment to do both jobs during a single event. . . . This is a once in a lifetime happening--it will be the largest single sports event ever tackled by our department. It will bring together, for the first time, all of our sportcasters and producers from across Canada (Daily Star, June 14, 1975).

While plans for television and radio coverage were going along relatively smoothly in Canada during 1975, members of COJO were having problems closing an agreement for European and world television rights. There were offers, counter-offers, stalls, and tough bargaining throughout the year. The problem was the difference in the amount the five international broadcasting groups were offering for the television rights and the amount COJO wanted. Based on ABC's $25 million for United States rights, the Montreal committee originally wanted more than $30 million from the 101-member European Broadcasting Union (EBU) and other foreign groups; they had offered $1.7 million. The Canadians cut the asking price to $18 million; EBU countered with a $9.3 million offer for global television rights. This offer was rejected and followed by a breakdown in the talks. The non-North American world television networks threatened to blackout the 1976 Olympic Games because they felt the broadcast fees were too excessive. The IOC and its president, Lord Killanin, stepped in and pressured COJO to accept the offer in order to prevent the blackout; the IOC had a great deal at stake since it modified Rule 21 five years earlier. Finally, two months after negotiations broke down, on September 10, 1975, the IOC announced that the dispute was over and an agreement had been reached. The new deal called for COJO to be paid the $9.3 million offer in U.S. dollars plus $50,000 each from one unidentified member of the EBU, the Arab Broadcasting Union and the African countries which brought the new total to $9.45 million. The price fell far short of the COJO's original target but it was still more than double the amount paid for the 1972 Olympic coverage.

In June 1976 the CBC announced its detailed television schedule for coverage of the Olympics from July 17th to August 1st: a minimum of 175 hours broken into three major blocks--10 a.m. to noon; 1:30 p.m. to 6 p.m. and 7 p.m. to 11 p.m.--followed by a one-hour highlights package at midnight. This meant that Canadians would receive in excess of eleven hours of Olympic telecasting each day during the Games and many European networks planned between twelve and fourteen hours a day coverage.

One of the unique innovations used to enhance coverage of the cycling road-race and marathon was the heli-car, also referred to as an autocar, a radically souped-up Volkswagen equipped with a television camera and microwave unit which operated at eye-level and beamed pictures up to an overhead helicopter, which in turn transmitted to control central. Transmission to a helicopter ensured a continuation of signal, as the car moved with the participants in the race and an additional camera in the helicopter provided an overhead view of the competitors. The autocar had been designed to cover the World Cycling Championships in Montreal in 1974 and was so successful that it was used during the Olympics. This and other developments allowed for the most extensive coverage ever given any Olympics. It was also the biggest effort the CBC ever made on television for a single event. In defence of the extensive coverage, Bob Moir, the CBC's television executive producer for the 1976 Olympics, said:

> When the time arrives and the Games are finally here, the major complaint will be that we are not bringing enough of the Olympic

> Games to Canadians. The Olympic Games are so big, so international, so packed with emotion, that no one in Canada realizes just how big, nor how emotional. When the Canadian team enters the Olympic stadium in the opening ceremonies, this country will go on an emotional binge the like of which we haven't seen in a long, long time (CBC Memo, May 4, 1976).

The CBC's Olympic coverage philosophy was simple; it would cover everything there was--every event, the three medal winners, and every Canadian that participated in the Games. In previous Games coverage the CBC found that there were always limitations, particularly on air time. "It was a terrific thing, especially in our own country, to have the luxury of showing every Canadian performance, whether they ran first or dead last, it didn't matter, they got on" (Craig, 1984:10). The CBC brought a different style of Olympic coverage to the viewers. Many viewers, especially Americans who picked up the CBC's signals, appreciated the CBC's coverage and the network received some "interesting" comments. "Usually the remarks are reversed because Canadians watch American networks. It was phenomenal. Viewers complaining about ABC's coverage; they never saw this on ABC's coverage. But they'd never had anything to compare it to before. It was heart-warming" (Craig, 1984:10).

Throughout the Games, articles appeared in various newspapers commenting on the television coverage of the events by the different stations. There was some criticism of the number of hours spent each day on Olympic coverage but in the end, however, it proved to have all been worth it for the CBC. A special audience survey commissioned by the CBC and conducted by A.C. Nielsen of Canada showed that 92% of the measured population of Canadians watched the CBC Olympic coverage at some point during its first week. That is 6% more than normally watch all stations and the CBC more than doubled its normal share of the audience. An estimated 18.2 million Canadians in 5.5 million different households spent an average of 11.8 hours each viewing the CBC television coverage of the Games in English and in French. These statistics did not include those viewers who watched the one hour a day plus nightly quarter hour of highlights provided by CTV. After the statistics were released one newspaper reporter, who had criticized the CBC for covering too much of the Olympics, admitted that Canadians had apparently approved of the massive coverage: "This is called gloating, for the network had been much criticized for devoting virtually its entire schedule, 11 hours a day, to the Games. . . . The very large viewership and large average audience appeared to be a solid endorsement of the CBC's Olympic marathon" (Globe and Mail, September 3, 1976).

Once it was over, more positive comments were made about the CBC's coverage of the Summer Olympics. Craig said: "We were delighted by the acceptance by the public of both the quantity and the quality of our programming. If anything, the public wanted more. The other broadcasters from around the world, particularly the British, applauded the ORTO productions to a man" (Closed Circuit, August 10, 1976:1). Other comments:

> It was television's finest hour. A seemingly endless number of mobile and fixed TV colour cameras followed the exciting sequences while skilled crews of technical and production people blended their outputs in a smooth composite that staggered the imagination (Closed Circuit, August 10, 1976:1).
>
> ORTO spared no effort in preparing for this TV supershow and it paid off in the most rewarding manner, a job well done, acclaimed by all who saw it as the crowning television achievement in four decades of Olympic TV (Closed Circuit, August 10, 1976:3).

After the Summer Olympics were over the CBC's sports department had only two years to prepare for the 1978 Commonwealth Games in Edmonton. These Games would prove to be the next largest undertaking in sports coverage ever attempted by a Canadian network and the largest solely by the CBC. The CBC based its broadcast model on the one it had used for the 1976 Olympics. Again selected as host broadcaster, the corporation had to provide full colour television facilities for twenty countries and radio services for thirty five countries throughout the Commonwealth, as well as provide daily feeds of all the different events. Wrote Garth Woolsey: "Not since the summer of '76, when the world tuned in on Montreal and the Olympics, has the armchair athlete had such an opportunity to sit down to a sports smorgasbord. . . . it will be possible for the real addict to log no fewer that 74 hours of viewing time leading up to. . . the Games' wrapup 10 days later" (Daily Star, July 29, 1978). For the first time in Games' history all coverage was done electronically. One-hour videotaped packages of Games' highlights were dispatched daily by air freight to sixteen Commonwealth countries who could not send their own crews or receive live coverage via satellite. Both domestic and international satellites made possible live transmission of Games' events. These were the first Games in which continuous coverage from all events was available. Said the CBC President A.W. Johnson of being chosen host broadcaster:

> The CBC has developed an enviable reputation in the specialized field of sports coverage--and with the recent experience of the 1976 Olympics in Montreal, we have both trained personnel and the most up-to-date broadcasting equipment to permit us to offer to the broadcast organizations of the Commonwealth, the most complete electronic coverage of any Commonwealth Games since their inception in Hamilton, Ontario in 1930. This will be the second largest event in the Corporation's history (second only to the Montreal Olympics), and the largest ever using only the resources of the CBC (Technical Report, January 1978:2).

The corporation provided approximately seventy hours of viewing time on the English television network and fifteen hours on the French network. The heaviest day consisted of ten and a half hours of coverage. Interspersed through the telecasts were fifty pre-packaged five-minute clips backgrounding the Games and profiling Canadian athletes. There were nine commentators, an on-air host and twelve colour experts covering the Games for the CBC's English network. Seven hundred CBC personnel, sixty five colour cameras (nine multi-camera mobiles with five to six cameras each; five mini-mobiles with single cameras and recording VR 3000 AVRQs; one heli-car with camera; one helicopter with camera; one camera with watertight casing at the bottom of pool), 138 commentator positions, ten mobile units equipped with sophisticated switching equipment, videotape machines, slow motion videotape for playback of key sequences, special effects generators to permit split screen and other effects, plus character generator for titling and other information and $2.3 million worth of broadcasting equipment were used to capture all the action of the ten official and one demonstration sports.

The CBC added a few innovations to these Games. One was a programming innovation whereby interview opportunities were supplied at field level for fifteen minutes before the events started each day and for a half-hour after the events were over at the end of the day (Closed Circuit, July 24, 1978). Another important innovation was a new method of processing and displaying competition results. The results network system used by the CBC was the most sophisticated yet to be employed at a sporting event of this type. The computer-controlled system made it possible to display the results within seconds of an event's finish. The results appeared on the video display screens of special enquiry terminals located in the CBC facilities at the venues and in the central control area of the broadcast centre. The display terminals had a specially designed font which made it possible to transmit the screen image directly to on-air telecasts. As well, the system could provide, within seconds, historical data on an athlete or an event. "The CBC system, which ties into a total network, has been specially designed to ensure that television and radio audiences receive the most up-to-date coverage technically possible" (CBC Memo, May 1978). In another innovation, a diver was put in the diving tank to provide underwater coverage of diving events at the Commonwealth Aquatic Centre. Generally the relationship between the Commonwealth Games Foundation and the host broadcaster group was close and when modifications were contemplated in venues or arrangements, the host broadcaster was able to present the broadcasting point of view to ensure that any changes would not create coverage problems.

The cost of television rights for the Olympic Games kept escalating, as did the amount of hours of coverage. ABC paid $15.5 million for the rights to the 1980 Winter Olympics in Lake Placid, New York, and telecast 53.5 hours of Games coverage. CTV paid $907,500 for the Canadian rights and televised a total of 55 hours. CTV's Olympic coverage reached 11.6 million viewers during the second week of the Games. Of the people who viewed some portion of the coverage 61% were men and 59% were women. According to CTV's statistics the average person watched four and three-quarter hours of the games. After the Winter Games John J. O'Connor wrote about Olympic sport and television in the New York Times:

> Sports have always been employed as technology trailblazers for television, cultivating everything from slow motion to instant replay. . . . In the end, though, the viewer was left with images that need no words: Eric Heiden at attention for the National Anthem; Austria's Annemarie Proell Moser's elation at getting her first gold

> medal for skiing; the single tear running down Irina Rodnina during the presentation ceremonies. These were some of the special moments that justify most of the sports manipulation on the wide, wide world of television (February 24, 1980).

There was a great deal of controversy and confusion over the television rights to the 1980 Moscow Summer Olympics. Finally NBC emerged the winner, after agreeing to pay the highest amount in Olympic history for the exclusive rights to broadcast the Moscow Olympics to the United States. NBC paid $87 million for broadcast rights for the Summer Olympics but confirmed it would cost approximately $100 million in total for the Games (four times the $25 million ABC paid for the 1976 Summer Games and approximately eight times the $13.5 million paid for the 1972 Summer Games). The CBC paid the Soviet Union $1.2 million for the rental of facilities and a further $1.2 million to the Olympic Organizing Committee for broadcast rights. Unfortunately for NBC and the CBC a number of western countries led by the United States, and including Canada, boycotted the Moscow Games. In response to their governments' decisions the two networks cancelled their coverage. Announced A.W. Johnson on April 23, 1980: "In view of the decision of the government of Canada to boycott the 1980 Moscow Olympics, we have decided not to proceed with the planned coverage of the games" (Starweek, July 12-19, 1980:8). The CBC's decision to blackout special Olympic programming and cancel its television coverage cost the network about $5.2 million in payments already made and in lost revenue. In keeping with the other networks' decisions, CTV also cancelled its plan to send a six-man contingent to Moscow to provide special coverage of opening and closing ceremonies.

A few months prior to the 1980 Winter Olympics, in September 1979, ABC won the bid for the 1984 Summer Olympics in Los Angeles. The network paid $225 million for rights and approximately $50 million for facilities, almost three times what NBC paid for the 1980 Summer Olympics. ABC anticipated there would be more than 200 hours of exclusive television coverage and more than 2,000 commercial minutes for sale at $200,000 per minute (New York Times, September 28, 1979). The CBC paid $3.75 million for the Canadian television rights and planned an extensive 200 hours worth of coverage. Meanwhile CTV paid $2.25 million for the Canadian televison rights for the 1984 Winter Olympic Games in Sarajevo and planned seventy hours of coverage. The two networks made an arrangement whereby they divided the cost of television rights for both Olympics in half. Thus each network paid $3 million for the right to televise the 1984 Summer and Winter Olympic Games to Canadians.

The price of television rights to Olympic Games and other major professional sporting events had grown exorbitant by the end of the 1970s and very few organizations had the financial resources to afford it. The three American networks were the only ones in any position to pay hundreds of millions of dollars for the Olympic Games or professional sports' television rights. These networks continued to produce numerous sports on television with a wide variety of technological innovations and advances. Audiences in both Canada and the United States came to expect a high quality of production while being able to see a sport from all angles, including from the dressing room.

In Canada the CBC and CTV did not have the financial resources of their American counterparts. Hence by the late 1970s and early 1980s they were not in the bidding for television rights to professional sports. But Canadian television had made some remarkable contributions to the televising and presenting of sports to not only its citizens but those of the world through its hosting of the 1976 Olympics and the 1978 Commonwealth Games. As host broadcaster of the Olympics, the CBC provided outstanding coverage of the Games; even the Americans, accustomed to major network coverage, thought the CBC had done a superior job to their own networks--high praise indeed. Amateur sports during the 1970s and early 1980s were generally handled on sports anthologies such as "SportsWeekend" and "The Wide World of Sport."

The major emphasis in Canadian sports telecasting continued to centre on professional team sport: NHL hockey, CFL football and major league baseball. Unable to afford the television rights on their own, Canada's networks had to wait for advertisers/sponsors to purchase the rights and then approach the networks for air time. By the end of the 1970s the number of advertisers/sponsors which could afford the television rights of the three main professional sports in Canada was limited to three--the three major Canadian breweries. Carling O'Keefe, Labatt, and Molson tried to buy whatever sports properties were available and at almost any price just to ensure that a rival brewery did not get them. The Brewery War started in the late 1970s and flourished in the early 1980s. It had a major effect on sporting events in Canada and the televising of sporting events and thus on the relationships among the triumvirate of sport, television and advertisers/sponsors. But there were only so many sporting events which could be purchased and it was only a matter of time before the individual breweries would start to wonder if they were getting their money's worth through their relationship with sport and television in Canada. This evaluation had not yet taken place by the end of 1982, but it would occur sometime in the near future. Once again the relationships among sport, television, and advertisers/sponsors would be subject to change.

CHAPTER V

DIMENSIONS OF THE RELATIONSHIPS AMONG SPORT, TELEVISION AND ADVERTISERS/SPONSORS

A. Introduction

The previous chapters have traced the history of selected sports, electronic media and advertisers/sponsors in Canada. This chapter seeks to ascertain the nature of the relationships which developed among the three during the first thirty years of television and examines those relationships in closer detail. As identified in chapter I's section on the related literature, some writers have referred to the interplay of the three as symbiotic in nature--a relationship of mutual interdependence between two or more essentially dissimilar entities. Some of the individuals who were interviewed felt the relationship(s) was a dependent one, with sport being dependent (to a greater or lesser degree) on television and/or advertisers/sponsors. This study found that during the last thirty or more years the relationships among sport, television and advertisers/sponsors in Canada have undergone many changes and have ranged from dependency to symbiosis.

Understanding the relationships among Canadian sport, television and advertisers/sponsors required a knowledge (awareness) of the larger context of Canada and its communications systems in general. An unconventional approach to this topic was taken by Dallas W. Smythe, in Dependency Road: Communications, Capitalism, Consciousness and Canada, who argued that "a realistic theory of communication must begin with people, not messages nor media" (1981:263). He felt that an approach to a critical theory of communication should begin with the recognition of how audience power was produced and suggested:

> Audience power, looked at where it is conceived through the businessmen's eyes is equivalent to markets--whether it be markets for homogeneous package goods, or for political candidates. . . . Far from the impetus lying with either the message or the medium it lies in the possibility of audiences paying in money, time and energy for the production, use and discarding of the proposed product (1981:263).

Without the prospect of profit, reasoned Smythe, there would be no audience, no message, no medium, no production of commodity. Given the history of the relationship among sport, television and advertisers/sponsors Smythe appeared to be right, particularly with regard to broadcasting sports. If the groups involved thought a particular sport promised large audiences and profits, the sport would be televised. Those sports offering little profit or popular appeal were not covered to any great extent by the mass media. Many are the examples of an amateur sporting event not being televised because network executives thought it would not attract an audience and so would be an unattractive commodity to potential sponsors.

To fully comprehend the relationships among sport, television and advertisers/sponsors four dimensions (programming, the role of sponsors/advertisers, changes in sport and television, and paybacks) had to be considered. The first dimension, programming, was viewed from the perspective of the television networks (mainly the CBC and CTV) and dealt with what was shown on Canadian television. An examination revealed data about who decided which programs and sports to show and who determined how those decisions were made. The importance of sports programming to the networks was explored. The number of games or hours of coverage devoted to sport by each of the two major Canadian networks indicated a difference in the manner in which the two viewed their sports programming. In understanding the second dimension, the role of the sponsor/advertiser, it was important to find out how company sponsorship of and advertising in sports in Canada started, how they developed and what their future appeared to be. In most relationships change is inevitable and in the relationships among sport, television and the advertiser/sponsor the adage was maintained, particularly between sport and television. Over the last thirty or more years there have been a number of significant improvements, innovations and changes to both sport and television, a large number of them due to the interplay between the two. Not everyone agreed these changes were always mutually beneficial. An examination under the dimension of "change" described the nature of these changes, the circumstances under which they occurred, and identified the benefits and effects which accrued to each of the partners. The last important dimension of the relationships, and probably the reason why the interplay continued for so many years, was the "payback," the rewards and benefits received by each partner as a result of the relationships. It might be money, exposure, viewers, possible increased sales or a sense of contributing to one's country. But, as in any type of relationship, the actual outcomes did not always measure up to expectations. If this dissonance occurred frequently or if one of the partners no longer felt the payback was reasonable then the relationship might be altered.

Once the dimensions have been explored there will be a better understanding of the types of relationships which have evolved among sport, television and advertisers/sponsors. However, before examining the dimensions of the relationships in detail it was important to get a perspective on the relationships in general.

B. The Relationships Among Sport, Television and Advertisers/Sponsors

In A History of Television and Sports Parente examined the growth of the relationship between professional and quasi-professional sports, the media and the American business system. He hypothesized that the relationship among the three was symbiotic in nature; the three dissimilar entities were in a mutually benefical interdependency. Parente examined the history of the interactions among the three partners, the role radio played, the influence television had on various sports, the influence sport programming had on television, the influence the advertising industry had on both sport and television, and the ways in which television and sport had become part of the advertising industry. By examining those aspects of the relationship Parente confirmed his hypothesis.

Lucas, Real and Mechikoff (1986) used Parente's criteria--television's dependency on the sports events for programming, the sport's dependency on television money, and changes in the sport brought on by television--to examine the relationship between commercial television and the Olympic Games. In their examinations the researchers relied upon interviews with Olympic and television offficials, documents of Olympic organizations, television trade publications, published studies of television, the Olympics and the history of sport. They asked three main questions:

1. Has television become dependent on the Olympics to fulfill its programming needs?
2. Has the IOC and host Olympic organizing committee become dependent on the financial support of television money?
3. Have the Olympics changed in essential ways to meet the

needs and desires of television? (Real, 1986:304, 306, 308).

After an examination of the history of the interaction between television and the Olympics Lucas, Real and Mechikoff concluded that each partner had kept its own unique identity and the relationship indeed was symbiotic.

The initial plan for this study was to examine the relationship between sport, primarily professional, and television in Canada using an extended version of Parente's criteria. At that time the study did not include the examination of the Canadian business system (i.e. advertisers/sponsors) in the dominant relationship because it was thought that Canadian advertisers/sponsors did not play as important a rôle as their American counterparts and therefore need not be included. But once the investigation began it soon became apparent that Canadian advertisers/sponsors were very much involved in the development of sports on television in Canada and that they were a third partner in the relationship.

The original basis for the tripartite relationship among sport, television and advertisers/sponsors can be traced back to the era of radio communication; early television programming was largely derivative of radio--radio with pictures, as some have observed. The initial relationship among sport, electronic media and advertisers/sponsors began when General Motors (and later Imperial Oil) agreed to sponsor the radio broadcasts of Toronto Maple Leaf hockey games. It was one of the only sponsored programs on Canadian radio. Because the hockey games were sponsored radio could afford to broadcast them weekly, making hockey one the few regularly broadcast sports on radio. All three partners benefited from the relationship: radio had a program which was paid for by the sponsor, filled air time and attracted large audiences; hockey received a great deal of exposure which increased awareness of the game and it received money for the broadcast rights; and the sponsor was associated with a successful program and was able to introduce its product to more people.

The mutual co-operation extant among the three partners in radio transferred easily to television. The parties worked together to produce a show for the audience of a quality sufficient to encourage continued viewing (Horler, 1984). Although the initial relationship involved specifically hockey, television and Imperial Oil, this grew to include sport in general and other advertisers/sponsors in Canada. During the 1950s sport, television and advertisers/sponsors became increasingly aware of what one partner could do for another. The exact relationship among specific sports, television and specific advertisers/sponsors varied according to the parties involved. Generally, the interaction among the three partners was one of co-operation. However, each partner explored its own range of possibilities and potential both for itself and for the partnership.

An important development in the relationship among sport, television and advertisers/sponsors was the establishment of a second television network, CTV, in 1961. Sport, specifically Canadian football, figured heavily in the creation of the new network. The arrival of a second network affected the existing relationship among the triumvirate in many ways. Prior to CTV's existence, the CBC generally viewed sport as a popular programming vehicle which attracted large audiences and advertisers/sponsors and which filled a great deal of air time at times when other programming was unavailable, usually Saturday afternoons. Owners of the new network, particularly CFTO's John Bassett, viewed sport differently. To them sport not only could fill air time and attract audiences and advertisers/sponsors, but it could enable the fledgling network to fulfill the Canadian content requirements of the CRTC. CTV aggressively pursued sports events and gladly created more time for sponsored television sports programs. With the CBC's monopoly removed, a competition for the purchase of sports' television rights and telecasting sporting events followed. The CBC had to become more commercial to compete with CTV in the quest for sponsorships to defray the costs of purchasing television rights for sporting events.

The 1960s have been referred to as the blossoming of sport on television and television on sport (Esaw) and the age of electronics by many in the television industry. It was a period of growth and expansion among the three partners. Television technology continually improved and this had a direct affect on sports coverage. Some of the major technological innovations which had the greatest impact on sports coverage during the late 1950s and 1960s were videotape (1958), the instant replay and its variations (1960-1964), colour television (1966) and generally the technology boom of the mid-1960s (Mellanby, 1979). (The specific details of these innovations and their impact on sport is examined later in this chapter in the section on changes). The new technology engendered a desire to produce better, more varied and more entertaining programs; a desire which necessarily affected the relationship among sport, television and advertisers/sponsors. During the 1960s television executives realized their new technology enhanced the coverage of a sports event to a degree no one had ever imagined possible. The better productions attracted wider audiences, they discovered. Sport offered television something that was always fresh and usually best televised live. The networks wanted more sport programming and expanded their sport coverage by either increasing the number of games or tournaments televised in the sports they were already covering or finding other sports or sporting events to televise. They "found" other sports by either purchasing existing programs from television networks outside of Canada, usually from the United

States, or televising sports which had never been carried on television. There was an underlying expectation on the part of the television personnel that the other members of the relationship would do their share to improve the product.

Sport was expected to improve its image and presentation on television even if it meant changing some rules of play. Most sports, during the 1960s, wanted to be more appealing to both audiences and advertisers/sponsors and so willingly accommodated television. Sport executives realized television exposure could help promote their sports and bring increased revenue. The financial return on the sale of televison rights steadily increased throughout the 1960s in all the major sporting events. Television exposure increased the public's awareness of a sport and added an element of prestige to the sport because it was "on" television. Generally sports officials likened television coverage to a commercial which encouraged people to go and watch the sport in person. If the television coverage of a sport looked good then the attendance at the game would increase; but if the television product was poor then attendance at games would likely decrease (Hudson, 1980). Sport accommodated television by both changing the game itself and making time-related changes, as was described in chapter III. The biggest change occurred in 1967 when sports allowed artificial breaks during play for commercials. Sport and television, and in some sports the advertisers/sponsors, worked together to find the best ways to include commercial time-outs with the least amount of disruption to the game. For example, CTV's Johnny Esaw and CFL Commissioner Jake Gaudaur sat through many football games with stopwatches in hand, timing when it would be feasible to insert a commercial. Although the three partners were generally accepting of the inclusion, or intrusion, of commercials during a sporting event, sports fans were not as amenable to the change. But even they realized that if they wanted sports on television, a price must be paid.

Actually, advertisers/sponsors were reluctant to insert their commercials mid-game. For the first half of the 1960s commercials were televised before and after the game, during intermissions or at half-time, but never during actual play. Advertisers/sponsors did not want to "turn off" potential customers from their products by interrupting the game. But as the costs of production and television rights escalated advertisers/sponsors wanted to get the best return possible on their advertising dollar and wanted their messages directed to the largest possible audiences. Obviously, viewers were more likely to be watching the screen during game play. As will be discussed in greater detail later in this chapter, the role of the sponsor, as opposed to the advertiser, began to change during the 1960s. Sponsorship, in which one company financially supported an entire program, declined. By the late 1960s single sponsors found it too costly to support an entire sport program. This affected the relationship among sport, television and advertisers/sponsors because no longer could one company become identified with the sport, pay all the costs and so exert control over the television program. Instead, several advertisers purchased commercial time on a sport program and they did not have as much influence as the sponsor did. Television generally made more money from several advertisers than it did from a single sponsor and, most important, it had more control (Ungerleider & Krieger, 1985).

During the mid-1960s the relationship between sport and television was the subject of numerous newspaper and magazine articles discussing the natural affinity between sport and television and how each has helped the other. Other articles claimed television was ruining sport. Notwithstanding the various discussions and criticisms, the general relationship among the three partners during the 1960s was one of co-operation and mutual benefit. Each member of the triumvirate developed on its own as a separate entity but also developed an interdependency during this decade.

Throughout the 1970s and early 1980s sport was popular on television and the Canadian television networks broadcast more and more of it. Television's technological advances enhanced production and enticed more viewers than ever to televised sports. Satellites, by beaming sports events to viewers "instantly," created a global sport television audience. "Coverage became more and more complex and better and better" (Telegram, July 24, 1970:16). All of Canadian television's technology was used when Canada hosted two international sporting events, the 1976 Montreal Olympics and the 1978 Commonwealth Games in Edmonton. They were the two largest events ever televised by the CBC. Both Canadian networks increased their coverage of major international sporting events during the 1970s and 1980s and they captured the curiousity and interest of a great number of Canadian viewers. One of the main reasons television "loved" sport was its ability to attract large audiences and hold them for a long time. During the 1970s and early 1980s sports events established new Canadian records for television audience size. Both networks' sport coverage reflected most of the major professional and amateur sporting interests of Canadians. The CBC's philosophy in the late 1970s and early 1980s was to balance its schedule with the best blend of professional and amateur sports. The intention was to make money on professional sports and to come as close as possible to breaking even on amateur sports. Many felt that covering amateur sport was the CBC's mandate. But not everyone in television appreciated the relationship between sport and televison. In the late 1970s the CBC Board of

Directors wanted to reduce the interference and disruption of prime time service sometimes caused by live sports events; the CBC wanted a greater voice in determining start times and game dates so as to minimize normal programming disruption.

Sport continued to modify rules and timing for television in the 1970s and early 1980s as was discussed in chapter IV. Definite rewards and benefits accrued to sport as a result of its changes. The gate attendance increased in many sports, such as professional hockey and major league baseball. The revenue generated from the sale of television rights for professional sports like NHL hockey and CFL football steadily rose throughout the 1960s and into the early 1970s. During the late 1970s a trend developed which greatly influenced the price paid for television rights. Canada's three major breweries--Carling O'Keefe, Molson and Labatt--extended their rivalry onto the country's playing fields and arenas by purchasing professional sport properties and/or their television rights. What ensued became known as the Brewery War. This had the effect of making the price of television rights too exorbitant for anyone but the owners--the breweries--who then advertised their products during broadcasts of their teams' games. Both professional sport and the television networks benefited from the "war:" professional teams had more money and television exposure; the networks still had the large audiences and good television ratings but did not have to spend money on television rights or undergo annual bidding contests with other networks. By the early 1980s television rights were so expensive that the breweries and other sport sponsors began demanding that "bans" or restrictions on certain sport telecasts be lifted so they could inundate the heavily populated southern Ontario region with their commercials.

Generally during the 1970s and early 1980s the relationship among sport, television and advertisers/sponsors was interdependent, symbiotic in nature. It was a mutually beneficial relationship but if the partnership broke up all would survive, though not necessarily at the same financial level and not without adjustments. Gordon Craig, president of The Sport Network (TSN) and former head of CBC Sports, once stated that an interdependency among the three existed in the 1980s for two main reasons: television relied heavily on the advertising dollars which sport generated; and sport filled a great amount of air time. Craig also wondered how conventional broadcasters would replace the hours sports filled if they were lost. Entertaining subject matter capable of delivering consistently high audience ratings and advertising dollar was not easily found. The partners were all intertwined; television required sport because it generated advertising dollars and audiences. Because the public viewed sport, advertisers lavished major advertising dollars on television. Sport generated 40% of the CBC's advertising budget; sport was key to the financial resources and plans of broadcasting. It came back to the demand of the audience; television just responded to that appetite and that demand (Craig, 1984).

Most of the people interviewed for this study agreed that a variety of interdependencies had developed over the last three decades among the three partners. However, there was some disagreement as to whether or not one partner was more important or dominant in the relationships than another. Some believed that professional sport could not exist without the money and public exposure provided by television. Meanwhile, others said television needed sport to fill hours of programming, satisfy public demands, and attract audiences and advertisers. Over the years sport demonstrated its ability to generate large television audiences. The importance of television to sport was shown when one looked at the sports associations in Canada that were financially sound; inevitably they were the ones which had been able to get television coverage. For example, the Canadian Curling Association, the Royal Canadian Golf Association and the Canadian Figure Skating Association were among the associations with fairly solid financial bases because they were able to create events for television (Houston, 1984). Advertisers, it was thought, needed both sport and television to heighten awareness of their products with large audiences. Very few major companies would undertake sport sponsorship unless television was part of the package. "Any event of a sport nature is a purely expensive regional promotion unless there is television. With television coverage it becomes a national promotion because it is seen right across the country. Television is absolutely essential to a major sporting sponsorship" (Houston, 1984:10).

Throughout the thirty years of the relationships among sport, television and advertisers/sponsors there was always a shifting in the level of interdependency. One concern, expressed by Brace, was that the interdependency had not been fully realized by the parties involved and that if one of them was too selfish the relationship was placed in jeopardy: "If sport goes through a period of making too much and sponsors are paying too much, the interrelationship will come to an end. Sponsors would pull out and I don't think sport can adjust [to such a change] and television would be greatly damaged" (1985:24). Or if the television demands were too excessive, then the relationship could be ruined. It was in all three partners' best interests to co-operate with each other. But how long the interdependency, which was viewed by some as "the best of all possible worlds," would last was also open to speculation. Both Joel Nixon, vice president of the NHL, and Don MacPherson, current head of CBC Sports, said that the relationship among the three partners was starting to change by the mid-1980s; the networks were gaining the upper hand. The networks realized advertisers had nowhere else to go to reach large audiences; moreover, sport still needed television, perhaps more than ever, to generate revenues and public awareness. Both major networks found themselves able to wait it out while the breweries or other advertisers/sponsors battled for sport properties and television rights. Eventually the rights holders had to come to one of the networks for air time, and then the networks could make their own demands on the rights holders (MacPherson, 1985).

Many of the experts interviewed limited their discussion to the relationships between sport and television. As was found when examining the relationships among the three partners, some people felt there was an interdependency between sport and television while others felt one partner was more dependent than the other. Again, it was important to realize that over the years the relationships have undergone several changes. Senator Hartland Molson, the retired board chairman of Molson Breweries Limited of Canada, believed an interdependent relationship began first between sport and radio, then later between sport and television:

> When you started with radio it didn't cost very much to have games and spectacles. It was a low cost thing. As it kept on then the competition for the best spectacle and the best ratings made it so they have become interdependent now. I don't think any big sport can be big without the banking of television. If you've got the greatest sport spectacle without television I think you'd have a difficult time to swing it. The same in reverse is true. Television without sports to get their higher ratings walks a very thin line. It's a big factor in television (1984:14).

Two experts, Ralph Mellanby, former executive producer of "Hockey Night in Canada," and Hugh Horler, past president of MacLaren Advertising, believed sport and television needed each other. Television needed sport because there were not many other programs as appealing to audiences. Viewers liked "live" television best, whether it was the Liberal convention, a United States election or a hockey game. Viewers realized they were watching a little piece of history in the making and that they would most likely not have had access to it if not for television (Chevrier, 1980).

When examining the relationship(s) among a specific sport, television and advertisers/sponsors the general pattern which had been observed and discussed did not always present itself to the same degree. The main professional sports on television in Canada were hockey, baseball and football. Representatives interviewed from the three sports all agreed that there was a type of interdependency between their sport and the television networks but the extent of that interdependency usually was related to the importance of gate receipts; the rights to telecast each sport were competitively sold and proceeds were paid to the leagues or clubs. These rights meant something different to each of the sports and shaped each one's relationship with television and advertisers/sponsors.

The relationships among the triumvirate began with professional hockey, radio and a sponsor. The partners co-operated with each other to produce a "national" broadcast which united Canada during the 1930s and 1940s. Conn Smythe, then-owner of the Toronto Maple Leafs, called the money he received from broadcast rights "manna from heaven." The co-operation continued into the 1950s with television. Hockey was the first official Canadian sport broadcast on the new medium. The CBC and NHL agreed to begin the telecast one hour after the opening face-off so as to encourage fans to continue attending the game in person. Thus would hockey management preserve its gate receipts. In fact, management had the best of both worlds; there was "more manna" for Smythe and other owners. "How could [illegible]yone in their right mind ever turn down all the advertising they could get from broadcasting and television when you know you have a good product to sell" (Smythe, 1966). The telecasts, which were a co-production between the CBC and MacLaren Advertising, ranked number one in the television ratings from the outset. Aware that hockey would be a key to its programming, the CBC wanted the exclusive rights to and complete control over the hockey telecasts. Smythe did not want anything to do with that idea and sold the rights to MacLaren Advertising. MacLaren retained the rights and a certain amount of power and the CBC, almost from a sense of public duty, carried the games. Even though the partnership among hockey, television and the advertiser/sponsor was a forced one in that the CBC would not relinquish its control and Smythe and MacLaren would not relinquish theirs, all the partners gained by it. Saturday night hockey had a vast following and was consistently one of the CBC's most popular programs during the 1950s. By the late 1950s it was apparent that television and television rights were important in hockey. MacLaren obtained the Montreal Canadiens' television rights, and the NHL's American teams wanted the two Canadian teams to share their hockey revenue. In 1957 Molson joined Imperial Oil as sponsor of the hockey telecasts. In the early 1960s the relationship was very stable among hockey, the CBC and MacLaren Advertising and the telecasts remained number one in the ratings. To meet some of the rising costs of television rights and production the Ford Motor Company of Canada became the third co-sponsor in 1964.

Television figured heavily in the NHL expansion of the mid-1960s. Eager to sell television rights to the major American networks, the NHL governors granted franchises to several American cities and continued to devote most of their attention on the United States market for the rest of the decade, much to the annoyance of Canadian networks and sponsors. In order to accommodate the American networks the NHL broke with tradition, changed its scheduling and added time-outs for commercials--moves which drew fire from Canadian sports writers unhappy with the way in which the game was presented on Canadian television. In any event, the NHL's "gamble" for American viewers and network money failed in two ways: Americans were not interested in ice hockey; and in Canada, the sport's television ratings declined slightly.

Despite the drop in ratings, the NHL posted remarkable growth during the next twelve years. The number of teams more than tripled, the season nearly doubled and the league continued to draw large television audiences. "Hockey Night in Canada" underwent more sponsorship changes in 1975. Imperial Oil withdrew completely as a co-sponsor and was replaced by the CBC. A consortium was formed between Molson and the CBC as rights holders, and CSN, a MacLaren subsidiary, became the production house for "Hockey Night in Canada." Three more Canadian teams joined the NHL in 1979-80 inducing the CBC to provide more regional, rather than strictly national, telecasts of games. Molson owned the television rights for all the Canadian teams except the Quebec Nordiques, and CSN negotiated local, regional and national television packages with all those teams.

NHL attendance rose throughout the 1970s, dropping slightly between 1979 and 1982. Attendance was important to the NHL because, according to NHL Vice President Joel Nixon, gate receipts enabled the league to maintain some independence from television and did not "need" television the way some other sports did. "Hockey needs television in that any institution in sports can use the additional income as provided by television because they can't make their buildings any bigger. There is a physical limit and if television can be an extension of the arena, selling seats, then there is a use for it" (Nixon, 1984:25). Because the NHL and television could survive independently of one another, Nixon felt a symbiotic relationship existed between them. "It is possibly the very independence of each medium in this case that enhances a very good relationship. . . . television will work and succeed as a medium, hockey will succeed as a medium and the breweries and the advertisers find this to be the best of all possible worlds (1984:27).

The history of professional baseball's relationship to Canada's television and advertising industries differed from the NHL's. For one thing it was much shorter. Though used to test the new electronic media in 1952, baseball did not become serious sports business in this country until 1969 when the Montreal Expos joined the National League and signed a deal with the CBC for limited coverage of season games. O'Keefe Brewing Company became the major sponsor of the television schedule. As the 1970s progressed, so did baseball's popularity in Canada with the Expos the apple of the nation's baseball eye. That changed in 1977 when the Toronto Blue Jays joined the major leagues, signed a television deal with the CBC and had rival brewery Labatt Brewing Company Limited as its sponsor and co-owner (45%). The rivalry between Carling O'Keefe and Labatt extended to the baseball field and in 1981, when the teams' deals with the CBC expired, the breweries fought furiously to block each other from one another's home markets. When everything settled, it was agreed the CBC would televise the Expos, CTV would televise the Blue Jays, and Canadian fans were able to watch more baseball on television than ever before.

Though initially quite independent, baseball became quite reliant on television for its revenues. In 1977, 80% of the Blue Jays' revenue came from gate receipts and only 20% from television. By 1980 television accounted for about 50% of the team's income. Baseball executives could not ignore that kind of financial input admitted Paul Beaston, vice president of the Toronto Blue Jays: "You've got to listen to them. They are just as much a voice as the fans for all practical purposes because they're delivering [our sport] to the fans at home. You can't let them dictate to you but when someone is 'paying the freight' you've got to work with them. And we work with them. It's as simple as that" (1985:21). Beaston was unperturbed by his sport's television need. He believed television was important to professional baseball both financially and promotionally but he also thought his club used television to its best advantage right from the beginning. The baseball club took the position that television was important and should be used from a marketing point of view. It did not matter whether the game was at home or on the road, club executives wanted their "product" exposed to the people of Toronto because television was going to be a good sales tool. True, professional baseball clubs could not afford to field teams without television exposure and advertising dollars, but television needed baseball too, for live, unpredictable and fresh programming every day throughout the summer. "I would say there is an interdependency for certain. One can't go without the other" (1985:21).

Canadian professional football's connection to television and advertising differed from both the NHL's and major league baseball's. With the latter two, the majority of teams were located in the United States and that had some effect on how the leagues operated and how they related to the television networks. Because the CFL was strictly Canadian it dealt primarily with the CBC and CTV and reached a much smaller audience. Survival for the CFL has always been a struggle, remarked former CFL Commissioner Jake Gaudaur in 1980. "Canadian football has always been, collectively speaking, a break even proposition in that we've always had to operate in a country beside another country which is ten times larger. To be compared in the minds of people with a league which is many more times more affluent is difficult" (1980:9).

The CFL's relationship with television got off to a shaky start when the first scheduled televised game was abruptly cancelled for fear televised games would detract from gate receipts. But the relationship steadily improved in the 1950s as year after year the Grey Cup game broke television audience records and showcased new "firsts" in Canadian broadcasting. Still the league remained wary of television's possible impact on stadium attendance and in the 1950s it began insisting all games (except the Grey Cup final) be "blacked out" from screens in the home team's area. But by the late 1950s, football executives had grown more appreciative of television viewers; they attracted advertisers/sponsors, and advertisers/sponsors brought money to the CBC and the two football leagues: the Interprovincial Rugby Football Union (Big Four), and the Western Interprovincial Football Union (WIFU). The Big Four realized the importance of television revenue and tried to establish an interlocking schedule with its western counterpart, reasoning a nine-team league would hold more appeal to potential television sponsors. During the 1950s the CBC or any interested party negotiated separately with the Big Four and the WIFU. Initially the television rights went to the CBC and the contracts with the Big Four were worth considerably more than those with the WIFU.

In 1960 football television rights played a major role in the creation of CTV. As described in chapter III the CBC, CTV and BBG wrangled for two years over which network should have the right to broadcast the Grey Cup game. In 1963 the networks agreed to share coverage, a decision upsetting to the management of the football clubs who decried it as a trade restricting monopoly. Television rights, or rather revenues, generated ill-will between the two Canadian football leagues as well; the WIFU wanted a share of the Big Four's lucrative television contract, but the Big Four did not want to share. Finally in 1967 the CFL decided to divide the television revenues according to a formula which would ultimately see all nine teams sharing equally. During the same year, aware the game could not be televised without advertisers/sponsors, the CFL approved breaks in the game for commercials.

During the 1970s television revenue grew slowly more important to the CFL and television exposure helped the league's stadium attendance. As television's technical coverage improved, so did the size of games' audiences. "Football is a good television sport. I think it has contributed greatly to what is very clearly a rapidly accelerating fan acceptance of our sport" (Gaudaur, 1980:9). In the late 1970s attendance at the games fell, but the CFL still drew large television audiences, especially for the Grey Cup game. In 1980 television revenue accounted for only about 8% of the CFL's gross revenue while ticket sales (gate receipts) made up 80% (Financial Post, 1980). A year later the league's television revenue skyrocketed as rival breweries "fought" over football's television rights, resulting in Carling O'Keefe's record $15.6 million purchase of the rights for three years. As rights holder, Carling O'Keefe negotiated with both the CBC and CTV and increased the number of televised CFL games to 90% of the season's seventy two games. The new contract also allowed for unprecedented flexibility in televising games; the CFL wanted to make its product more marketable to both television and spectators. The dynamics of the CFL's relationship with television and advertisers/sponsors was changing.

During the 1970s the majority of sports became more concessionary to the other members of the triumvirate. Most sports changed rules, regulations and/or procedures to accommodate their television and advertising partners and to better entertain audiences at home and at the game. Most television personnel and sponsors interviewed for this study agreed that sport, especially professional sport, was entertainment. Senator Molson said hockey executives realized from the start they were in the entertainment business. To have thought otherwise would have been to suffer a delusion. Don MacPherson, head of sports for the CBC's English network, likened sport to theatre with no script. "Sports is good drama, good theatre and it's live and it has an excitement about it. I think that makes good television" (MacPherson, 1985:40). MacPherson stated that without sport, television would be a major conveyor of information and "canned" programming which would not be as popular with viewing audiences.

A number of television people believed that sport was more dependent on television than vice versa because professional sport would not survive without television's exposure and revenue. Douglas Fisher disagreed: "Sport was around long before television in every one of its guises, so, of course it could function without television" (1985:15). However, Fisher thought that television had enriched the spectator sporting life by bringing Canadians professional and amateur sporting events from around the world. John Bassett believed television's expansion of the sport horizon was one of its most positive contributions to sport: "The most overwhelming impact of television is that its brought the wonder and drama of sports to millions of people who otherwise would never have had the opportunity to see it" (1982:14).

In discussing the tripartite relationships under study, the heads of three major networks--TSN's Gordon Craig, CTV's Murray Chercover and Peter Herrndorf of the CBC--all saw sport as a major ingredient in North American culture. Thus its inclusion on television was both natural and inevitable. In The Canadian Corporate Elite Wallace Clement referred to the media elite (i.e., owners, presidents and heads of networks) whose purpose was to "act as gatekeepers, performing the function of selection and screening alternatives by establishing limits of tolerance. In this role they are not so much involved in changing ideologies as reinforcing existing ones" (1975:282). This particularly applied to sport on television. As Herrndorf, former vice president and general manager of the CBC, once remarked:

> Sure sport is entertainment but it is also a very major ingredient in the cultural life of North America. It is part of the process by which the community develops a sense of self-esteem and we look to sports figures to do that for us as well as television and film. You have to look at it as something more than entertainment (1982:13).

Herrndorf thought television important for the access it allowed individuals to a sport event. Through television, Canadians everywhere could identify with and feel involved in the exploits of "their" team. This access was important to an individual's sense of self and of belonging to a region of the country; "to some degree the teams take on personalities that reflect the social cultural attitudes in that part of the country" (Herrndorf, 1982:13). Also important was the access television provided to millions of people on a continuing basis. But television has failed to deal with some of the social and political issues related to sport; investigative journalists have virtually ignored television sport. "But that leads you into the notion of a symbiotic relationship among sports, television and the advertisers. The advertisers and the networks see sports primarily as entertainment and not as essentially representing slices of social and cultural life in society" (Herrndorf, 1982:14). According to Herrndorf, advertisers and networks never encouraged the discussion of sport's social and political issues; rather, they sometimes actively discouraged it. This appeared to be borne out by the sport programming of any of the major Canadian networks in the past thirty years.

Canadian major network programming reflected the tripartite relationship among the networks, sport and the advertisers/sponsors. As with any triumvirate there were special relationships which developed between two of the three partners at any given time; however, these relationships seemed to be in a state of flux over time. It was this changing which resulted in a symbiotic relationship among the partners and produced either a direct or an indirect influence on what the audience saw in terms of the networks' programming.

C. Programming

> The greatest problem in Canada is to try to create in television a national identity in programming--the CFL has the same problem that other types of Canadian television programs have, they have to face the tremendous competition from the United States (Bassett, 1982:5).

Though Canada has changed its Broadcasting Act several times, the Act has always said that Canadian broadcasting should bring Canada to the Canadian public with made in Canada programming. The 1968 Broadcasting Act stated that programming provided by the Canadian broadcasting system should be "varied and comprehensive and should provide reasonable, balanced opportunity for the expression of differing views on matters of public concern, and the programming provided by each broadcaster should be of high standard, using predominantly Canadian creative and other resources" (CBC, 1983:9). In his examination of the CBC's management decision making MacKay (1976) stated that all discussions of broadcasting ultimately led to programming and to the public interest. After examining the Canadian broadcasting system in two separate Royal Commissions, Robert Fowler concluded: "The only thing that really matters in broadcasting is program content; all the rest is housekeeping" (Peers, 1979:317; Weir, 1965:453).

Initially Canadian television modelled its programming after radio's. The programming of both media was controlled by advertisers/sponsors, with the CBC acting as both program censor and carrier (Horler, 1984). Advertising companies, like MacLaren Advertising, provided the CBC with both popular American shows and the funds to develop Canadian programs. The CBC instituted a packaging theory whereby sponsors which imported American shows had to also sponsor a Canadian one. MacLaren Advertising was laughingly referred to as the CBC network because its clients sponsored a great deal of programming almost every night of the week on the CBC (Hough, 1982). This stage of development was referred to in The Strategy of the CBC as the first phase of English television:

> . . . from 1952 to 1970, English television built a national service, using American programs to attract viewers to Canadian stations and at the same time building audiences for Canadian programming like "Wayne and Shuster," "Wojeck" and "Close-up." Those audiences served to generate commercial revenues which sustained Canadian program production and supported the private affiliated stations which provided a rapid way of extending coverage (CBC, 1983:11).

The second phase started about 1970, ignited by the 1968 Broadcasting Act and its emphasis on Canadianizing broadcast services, and by the CRTC's 60% Canadian content requirement. The CBC increased its Canadian content from 60% in 1970 to 67% in 1978 and to more than 70% by 1982 (CBC, 1983).

Both networks in the early 1970s resolved to create more programs, a commitment which peaked in about 1980. Once the networks demonstrated they could produce their own programs, they developed a more tolerant attitude toward programming co-produced or produced to their specifications (Hough, 1982). In a way it was a return to the attitudes of the 1950s and 1960s when the networks took everything given to them. It certainly differed from the networks' "we'll do it ourselves, you just bring money," approach adopted in the 1970s.

One of the most common misconceptions held by people outside the industry was that televison's product consisted of programs. In fact, to television executives and advertisers the product was the audience. Networks and stations did not make money producing a program; they made money selling advertising time during the program and playing the ratings game. Networks used programming as a way to attract audiences to commercials. The larger the audience, the higher the rate charged for advertising time, "especially when that audience has the right 'demographics' - i.e., when it has a high percentage of economically desirable viewers, generally meaning eighteen to forty nine year old members of the middle and upper classes" (Greenfield, 1981:29). The goal of the networks was to attract the largest viewing audience, get high audience ratings and then charge more money for the cost of advertising during the program. Programs were considered commercials for commercials (Altheide and Snow, 1978).

There were various views within the CBC and CTV as to their respective general programming and, specifically, sport programming mandates. There was a vast difference between the two organizations. The CBC was "the National Broadcaster" for Canada and its mandate--to show Canada to Canadians--was set forward in the Broadcasting Act of Canada.

The CBC owned its own stations, most of its equipment and had other affiliates. CTV, on the other hand, was a loose affiliation of independently owned stations which leased/rented virtually all of its equipment from affiliates or other private sources. "CTV doesn't have the same kind of mandate as CBC. It has but one mandate, which is I presume the right mandate, to make money for its shareholders" (Hudson, 1980:8). Thus they had different philosophies and objectives. Executives from both networks felt that they were very competitive with each other and with foreign networks.

Most commercial television stations in Canada were affiliated with one of the three television networks--the CBC, CTV and Global--and most of what was seen on television was programmed by these networks because, for economic reasons, most local stations could not afford to buy enormously expensive one hour dramas, half hour comedies or three hour hockey games on their own. The network provided the simplest structure for financing high-budget programming. "When a station carries a network show, it merely pushes a button, inserts its own commercials during the 'word from our local station' break (keeping all of the revenues from its local ads), and clears a profit with minimum effort" (Greenfield, 1981:27). People in the television industry suggested that local station owners earned an average return of more than 30% a year on their original investment. So little incentive existed to develop alternatives to network programming.

Network programs were available to local stations throughout the day and night, and particularly during prime time (the period from 7 p.m. until 11 p.m.) when the greatest number of people watched television. The networks competed furiously for the prime time advertising dollar and paid particular attention to the programs selected for that period. "Prime time has the most rigid code, consisting of simple plots, excitement with action or comedy, standardized roles and conformity to ideal cultural norms. Sports fits nicely into prime time, for it embodies almost every aspect of popular entertainment" (Altheide and Snow, 1978:190). The Canadian networks traditionally carried sport programming during prime time because the sport programs shown regularly during prime time--"Hockey Night in Canada," CFL games and professional baseball--attracted large audiences and, hence, advertisers. It was not until the mid-1970s that the three American networks followed their Canadian counterparts' lead and moved championship sports events into prime time. Robert Wussler, president of CBS Sports, said that "prime time sports had become a pleasant diversion for viewers and a gold mine for advertisers seeking shows without an emphasis on sex and violence" (Amdur, 1978:42). But he cautioned against thinking that all sports could succeed in prime time. In the late 1970s the CBC had more live prime time sports than any other network in the world; some CBC executives were concerned about the spread between Monday through Friday prime time and the weekend and so shifted Canadian football games onto the weekends. It was felt that sports should be more emphasized on the weekend (Herrndorf, 1982).

The selecting of prime time programs required marathon sessions of examining program ideas, reviewing existing programs and then deciding which of their old and new programs would attract and hold audiences away from the other networks. Just as networks looked for appealing personalities and characters in general programming, so they looked for personalities in sports. Television schedules were designed to fit the viewers' routines and keep them tuned to one station. Hence schedules were designed to have one program "flow" into the next in order to retain the audience. Commercials were designed to fit the type of program, the time of day and the type of audience. One successful American television producer stated that programs existed solely to deliver the audience to the next commercial. The basic plan was to establish from the beginning to the end of prime time, programs to maintain and deliver audiences to the commercial (Greenfield, 1981).

Scheduling was not always a simple matter in Canada, which spans six time zones. Most major events were scheduled for prime time in heavily populated Ontario and Quebec. This meant that schedules and programming for the far east, Newfoundland, and far west, British Columbia, had to be re-arranged. In the east programs had to be aired before the major event and after the main event in the west. For example, a hockey game played in Toronto began at 8 p.m., which was 9:30 p.m. in Newfoundland and 5 p.m. in British Columbia. Programming in Newfoundland was done before the hockey game whereas the programming in British Columbia was done after the game. Even more problems were created when games went into overtime.

Problems such as these were "sorted out" by the men responsible for the networks' programming. Clements, in The Canadian Corporate Elite, identified the influence the media elite had in approving or disallowing the programmers' decisions. He questioned whether or not the "elite" could be unbiased if money (most likely in the form of advertisers/sponsors) was a controlling factor. As stated earlier, Clements thought the media elite were gatekeepers of ideologies, selecting and screening alternatives by establishing limits of tolerance and were involved in reinforcing existing ideologies and exercising an important form of power. Davey's Senate Committee on Mass Media concluded the power of the press lay in its power to select; the media owners controlled the presentation of the news and "therefore have a vast and perhaps disproportionate say in how our society defines itself (1970:7,8). Mills believed the media not only gave us information but guided our very experiences. Clements said the task of the media was to translate information to the public. He identified two factors which had to be present if the task was to be an objective undertaking:

> 1. The media elite must be sufficiently autonomous from other elites in society to provide a detached perspective on their activities and present a critical accounting of the policies and persuasions of these other elites; that is, a pluralist social structure must exist at the elite level.
>
> 2. The media elite must contain within it representations from all major social groupings in proportion to their occurrence in the population at large; that is, equal access to decision making positions must prevail (1975:293).

Clements questioned whether the conditions could be met in a capitalist society. Canadian network executives insisted they programmed for the average viewer, not for themselves or friends. But as Porter pointed out in The Vertical Mosaic the mass media were "important instruments of opinion-making and they establish the climate of thought in the society" (1965:216). A select few decided what to air on Canadian television and they based their choices on their view of the world and of what it should be. The media elite's power was in terms of control; control over the access to decision making, the content of the media, or the selection of those who determine the content of the media (Clements, 1975).

Members of the media elite interviewed believed sport programming to be very important. John Bassett believed televised sports unified the country because most Canadians shared a love of sport. He did admit, however, that watching one team get "clobbered" by another could spark divisiveness (Bassett, 1982). Chercover maintained that sport on television reflected part of the essential popular culture of the country (1982). Clement's description of members of the media elite as "gatekeepers" who screened alternatives "by establishing limits of tolerance" (Clements, 1975:282) seems to fit with Herrndorf's own understanding of his role in sport programming as vice president of the CBC: "My involvement has to do with trying to establish some kind of strategy, some kind of philosophy, trying to keep it within some kind of context. I try to keep them honest, quite honestly" (1982:9). For example, each year Herrndorf asked the sports department how many Expo games they intended to carry. Normally the network carried about twenty one games; if Herrndorf heard they planned to carry fifty two, he would say no. In another example, if Herrndorf heard the CBC wanted to broadcast twenty six World Cup soccer games, he would ensure the games were scheduled during the day to avoid disrupting prime time. Herrndorf saw his role as one which looked at the large picture rather than the details (1982). Generally, sport programming suited the media elite's view of the world. This was also a good example of Weber's notion of elective affinity which was "the way ideas and material interest 'seek each other out' in the ongoing processes of society. It involves the selective perception of previously generated ideas to suit the current position of the actors" (Clements, 1975:283).

Along with perpetuating the media elite's view of the world, sport programming played an important part in both the CBC's and CTV's schedules for several reasons: live sports coverage made for very exciting television; a large percentage of sport programming was Canadian and so helped the networks meet Canadian content requirements; it attracted viewer loyalty and large audiences; and it made money for the networks (Herrndorf, 1982). To many television people sport was a natural for television. It involved no rehearsals, no retakes; sport was "a happening" and television existed to show what was happening (Esaw, 1981). Besides, major sport programs could be produced for a fraction of the cost of Canadian variety and drama productions.

Despite sport's popularity, some program directors and television executives worried that sport often had an unbalancing effect on the overall network schedule. The "big game" was shown live and could not be delayed or moved to suit the overall schedule in the way that other programs could. Major series like the Stanley Cup play-offs and the World Series disrupted a network's prime time schedule for weeks, especially if overtime was involved. That further disrupted all scheduling and usually affected the important national news telecasts. Program executives disliked the disruptions and their lack of control over the timing of sports events. Over the years they managed to gain more control by working with the sports organizations and suggesting to them changes which benefited both parties. When asked if sport should perhaps be concentrated in non-prime time (i.e. during the day and weekends), the television executives interviewed generally agreed the current mix of prime time and weekend programming was sufficient.

Network executives also had to gauge how much sport programming was enough and how much was excessive. Television executives realized that not everyone wanted his/her favorite program pre-empted or delayed by a sport telecast. On the other hand, sports fans kept demanding more coverage. The notion of elective affinity could be applied: "There is a selection from the range of alternatives available which suit the situation of those engaged in the selection" (Clement, 1975:283). Mellanby disagreed with the theory suggesting television had a sports saturation level. He and other executive producers of sport programs found this did not always hold true. The 1978 "CBC TV Sports Brief" asked, "How much is enough? How much is too much?" and presented data from a study of the CBC's sport coverage from 1974 to 1979. According to the study sports coverage generally increased despite some fluctuations. With respect to sport broadcasts between 1974 and 1979, according to the data in the Sports Brief, the English Division of the CBC televised:

1974-75	580 hours
1975-76	683 hours
1976-77	722 hours (including the 1976 Montreal Olympics)
1977-78	631 hours
1978-79	679 hours (including the 1978 Commonwealth Games)

Sporting activity on television peaked twice a year, as did the complaints about excessive sport programming. The first peak occurred in mid-October when the football, baseball and hockey seasons overlapped; the second happened in late April and early May when hockey, baseball, golf and horse racing overlapped. To alleviate the sports congestion during the second period, the president of the CBC banned baseball games from prime time until after the Stanley Cup playoffs (CBC, 1978). This reinforced the notion of elective affinity.

As mentioned earlier sport programming was relatively inexpensive to produce. "Since sports broadcasting, even on a local basis, is highly profitable, the goal and logic of television is mainly economic--supply and demand--keep them both high" (Altheide and Snow, 1978:190). The two areas of expense in sport programming were the cost of purchasing the television rights and the cost of production. The following table (Table 8) is a comparison of the CBC's sport programming direct costs to those of other types of programs in 1977-78:

TABLE 8 A Comparison of the Hours and Costs of Selected Progams on the CBC in 1977-78#

Program	Total Hours	Direct Costs
Sports	631 hours	$4,777,600 ($2,697,100 for telecast rights and $2,080,500 in production costs)
Variety	663.5 hours	$7,673,800
Current Affairs	589.75 hours	$9,235,800
Drama	111.5 hours	$5,430,000
News	193 hours	$2,369,000

# Source: Adapted from "CBC TV Sports Brief," January 24,1978.

Not only was it relatively inexpensive but sport programming generated proportionately more revenue than other types of programs. For example, in 1977-78, sports, including professional baseball, hockey and football, brought $8 million to the CBC compared to $16 million for all other types of programming.

In addition to professional sports, both the CBC and CTV regularly covered amateur sports primarily on "SportsWeekend" (CBC) and "Wide World of Sports" (CTV). As for other types of programming, ratings ruled the selection and scheduling of sports events; "programs come and go as ratings rise and fall. In recent years television has been enormously successful in generating ratings through sports" (Altheide and Snow, 1978:190). As long as sports continued to receive good ratings, advertisers continued to buy the programs (MacPherson,1985). The media elite used the ratings to guide their selection of programming. Bassett said advertising rates went up or down with the ratings: "A football team must think about people coming in to see them play; if you're playing before a half empty stadium--forget it. If you're broadcasting a program that nobody watches--what good does it do? So ratings are terribly important" (1982:8). To determine ratings, the networks asked certain individuals to keep diaries of what they watched on television and when. Some media executives disliked this method and used the information only as a rough guide, preferring to make their decisions on a gut feeling as to whether or not a program would work (MacPherson, 1985).

As a result of their different mandates, the CBC and CTV considered different factors (other than ratings) when selecting sports to cover. Esaw said he felt CTV had a duty and obligation to provide the public with as wide a variety of sports as possible. But the amount of coverage which a sport received had to be governed by its popularity. These factors helped Esaw determine what the network was willing to pay for a sport and, in turn, how to sell it to the general public. Esaw was particularly proud of the "Wide World of Sport" programming because it allowed CTV to offer as many as five different sports in one two-hour show. Thus CTV would fulfill its public duty to provide coverage of many sports without boring audience members who preferred mainstream professional sport. Esaw's theory of programming was that everybody "deserved their day under the sun" and the network tried to do that in "Wide World of Sports." The major sports promoted by CTV included figure skating, baseball, football and hockey. All were bought, sold and scheduled as specials. Most sports that were bought as specials were costly and had to be purchased far enough in advance so they could be scheduled and sold for a profit. The factors considered prior to bidding for a sport were how popular it was and how successful it might be for the network. The network bid strenuously for top events (Esaw, 1981). There were other events outside the sport mainstream that were not suited to the brief fifteen to forty minute segments of "Wide World of Sport." CTV ran some of these anyway, even though they earned the network little if any revenue. For example, CTV aired CIAU events like the College Bowl and basketball finals, mainly because Esaw considered it good citizenship on the network's part to do so.

Performance of public duty was only one factor, of course, in selecting what sports to cover. Another example of how the media elite acted as gatekeepers and guided the viewers' experience was revealed in how Chercover and Esaw decided CTV's programming. Chercover wanted to have a balanced mix of programs during the seasons to insure that the network had a steady flow of customers and stated that Esaw had an instinct for what the public would respond to--"he has a nose for it." According to Chercover, gut feeling had a lot to do with choosing new sports for "Wide World of Sport." For each new sport Chercover and Esaw would ask themselves, "I wonder if the public will respond to that? I wonder if they will identify with it?" Chercover maintained that the percentages had been very favorable using that technique. "We've introduced a great many, generally not public sports but sporting events to the public, which have subsequently grown to the point where they are very, very dynamic events" (Chercover, 1982:10).

The CBC executives handled the CBC's sport programming similarly to CTV, the major difference being it had a government-imposed (CRTC) mandate to fulfill. In the early 1970s there was a "raging battle" in the CBC's sports department about sport programming which was reflected best by two individuals: Don Goodwin, head of the sports department, preferred amateur sport whereas John Spalding, a senior producer, favored professional sport. Both argued their respective points of view to the exclusion of the other. "Since that time there has been a happier marriage of the two and a recognition that we have to do both and we have to do both reasonably well" (Herrndorf, 1982:6). During his tenure Goodwin acted as a gatekeeper, selecting and screening the alternatives by establishing limits of tolerance in his sport programming; "So we forced-fed a few things" (Goodwin, 1982:38) --particularly when it came to amateur sports. Goodwin felt that if the CBC was going to put money into fringe sports--non CFL and NHL--it should support the more traditional and international amateur sports like track and field, swimming, diving and other Olympic events. Hence Goodwin emphasized coverage of these activities, not because he thought the viewer necessarily wanted them, but because he wanted the CBC to become an advocate and promoter of amateur sport (Goodwin, 1982).

Some people suggested the CBC cover only amateur sport and leave professional sport to CTV. Herrndorf disagreed, arguing both networks needed the revenues generated by professional sport and both networks should also cover amateur sport. But he agreed the CBC had a greater responsibility than CTV to cover amateur sports but not to the exclusion of covering the Expos or the CFL. Indeed, the corporation ensured its "SportsWeekend" was filled with plenty of amateur sport coverage (1982). In programming amateur sports for "SportsWeekend" and in the general sport programming the network sports executives also adhered to the CBC's mandate with the philosophy: "We want to show and to expose Canadians to world class competition by allowing them to see Canadians performing at world class" (MacPherson, 1985:21). The approach certainly had beneficial side effects. Hundreds of young Canadians took up skiing and swimming after watching Nancy Greene and Elaine Tanner win medals in the 1968 Olympics. But though the CBC agreed it should show Canada to Canadians, it also had to earn some money and not just drain federal tax resources. MacPherson stated that the revenue generated by the sports department was very important to the CBC because it allowed the corporation to do more. So the type of competition or sporting event covered by the CBC sports department made a difference; it had to be as close as possible to world class. "When Canada wins a world championship it helps--no question about it. We try and we probably make a broader commitment in [all Canadian] program areas than CTV does. We do things like snooker, darts, bowling. . . . So everyone has that choice [to watch their sport] as far as us covering strictly amateur sport" (MacPherson, 1985:23).

In addition to covering amateur sports which did not draw large audiences the CBC and also CTV have covered major international sporting events which generated some of the largest audiences in Canada, for example, the Olympic Games and Canada Cup or Canada-U.S.S.R. hockey series. While professional hockey and football were the mainstay of its sport programming in the 1950s, the CBC also provided viewers with several hours per year of international sport programs. However, it was not until 1964 that both networks really became involved in the coverage of Olympic Games; CTV network had exclusive Canadian coverage from ABC for the 1964 Winter Olympics in Innsbruck. The 1964 Summer Olympics in Tokyo represented a major milestone for the CBC. As MacPherson pointed out, "it was the start of a commitment from the CBC to look at the Olympics Games and cover them" (1985:4). The Canadian broadcasting system as a whole made an enormous commitment when Montreal was chosen for the 1976 Summer Olympic Games. The CBC had a dual role as host broadcaster, providing the international feed for all interested networks around the world, and as domestic servicer, providing more than eleven hours a day of Olympic coverage to Canadians. Equipment was drawn from both the private and public sectors of broadcasting, and CTV also provided its viewers with coverage of the Games. The CBC's Olympic coverage was quite eclectic; it covered every event, all three medal winners and every Canadian athlete.

The CBC's major programming commitment to amateur sport carried over from the Montreal Olympics to the 1978 Commonwealth Games in Edmonton. Again the CBC found that Canadian viewers were interested in a major international sporting event and the Games attracted a large audience. MacPherson felt that by showing the live or close to live sport programming during the normal "rerun" cycle in the summer "you are doing the audience a service. Again you're acting as a proxy--you are allowing people to see things and events that are taking place at that point in time . . . there's a sense of excitement and some emotion involved" (1985:26). As for the CBC's total time commitment to sport programming, MacPherson felt that in the 1980s there was enough. Sport programming should not have any more air time than it had now, particularly during prime time.

After examining all the factors and philosophies involved in sport programming, perhaps the development and philosophy of broadcasting hockey in Canada was one of the best examples of Mills' idea that the media provided not only information but also guided the experiences of the consumers. Hockey programming in Canada was unique and successful. Canadian audiences have watched "Hockey Night in Canada" or its predecessor, "Saturday Night Hockey," since the beginning of Canadian television in 1952 and have watched the majority of the major international hockey series involving Canadian teams on either the CBC or CTV networks. The "Hockey Night in Canada" telecasts have been produced throughout the last thirty odd years first by MacLaren Advertising and then one of its subsidary companies, CSN, mostly in conjunction with the CBC. For a period of time in the 1960s and 1970s both the CBC and CTV were involved. Horler spoke about the CBC's philosophy regarding hockey and the benefits MacLaren-CSN accrued from the CBC's stand. "CBC never had a philosophy in sport--that was one of our

[MacLaren's] powers. Hockey wasn't just another game, it wasn't a piece of programming--it was a religion--it wasn't to be tinkered with--it was to be treated reverently" (1984:27). Because "it was not to be tinkered with" hockey broadcasting became a major revenue source for the agency and its clients.

The biggest difference in the telecast of "Hockey Night in Canada" between 1952 and 1982 was the change in the approach to the game. During the program's first two decades, explained Selke, the agency was there to cover the game and keep everybody happy; the programming aspects of the show were not that important. Hockey executives such as Conn Smythe, Frank Selke, Sr. or Senator Molson were allowed on television any time they had something they wanted to say. This approach generated a good deal of criticism during the 1960s and in about 1965 a different approach to the game was developed. The commentators were to report the facts, express opinions and tell the truth about what was happening on the ice. They were not to unduly applaud someone nor were they to "carve" anyone up. More important, they were not cheerleaders for the sport (Selke, 1980). The executives at CSN did not believe in the cheerleader approach to hockey telecasting. "We have found that as long as you are honest, telling the truth and not going out of your way to embarrass anyone or damage the product, eventually the people accept that what you're doing is the right thing. It's a far cry from what hockey, football, baseball coverage was 10 to 20 years ago and we're kind of proud of it" (Selke, 1980:10). However, in 1980 one of the "Hockey Night in Canada" commentators, Howie Meeker, found that while his honest, straight forward comments may have been accepted by the fans and CSN executives, they were not appreciated by the Montreal Canadiens' organization, which did not allow him to be a commentator during their games.

There were areas in which the media elites used hockey to guide viewers thinking: Canadian nationalism and violence. Canadian nationalism was reinforced by the decision of the president of CSN to televise only the Canadian national anthem. "We never go on air with a hockey telecast without playing the [Canadian] national anthem, in spite of the fact that many of our production people say 'why do it?' I keep saying 'you'd better do it as long as I'm here'" (Hough, 1982:2). For example, when an American team plays in Montreal both national anthems are played in the arena but only the Canadian anthem, which is played second, is telecast. "We don't want to do the American national anthem because the game takes place in Canada. So to answer your question about sensitivity towards Canadianism I think perhaps it is pretty much a personal and subjective thing but at the same time I think it's not mine alone" (Hough, 1982:2).

As for violence, various presidents and owners have struggled over this issue--to show or not to show violence. The approach taken by executive producers of "Hockey Night in Canada" changed from the 1950s to the 1980s. Horler explained that during the 1950s a certain amount of fighting was considered part of the game. When a fight started, the cameras showed what happened, then pulled back and away from the fight. There were shots of gloves and sticks scattered all over the place; Foster Hewitt would poke fun at the fights and make light of the violence. That philosophy changed in the late 1950s and early 1960s. Senator Molson decreed that fights not be shown. The cameraman had to shoot the ceiling or something else during the fight. Often a small commercial was inserted. "I don't think you can fault the Senator in terms of violence because he respected the game, the players. He was interested and put a kind of gentle pressure on you to make sure that you got the absolute best out of everything. I know others that wouldn't have treated the game with such loving tender care" (Horler, 1984:28). In the 1970s and early 1980s the philosophy of fight coverage changed again. This time the cameras basically began showing everything.

So the decision as to whether or not to show violence during a hockey game was generally left to the executive producer of the program. If he thought fighting was "just part of the game" and saw nothing wrong with it, he would televise the entire fight; if he objected to fighting, he would broadcast only a small portion of the fight. This difference in attitude towards fighting results from a simple problem: there is no consensus on what constitutes violence. Thus, while some people would argue that particularly hard tackles or checks in football and hockey are violent acts, others would insist these are part and parcel of a good game. Though a good deal of research has been done on violence in general television programming, little has been conducted specifically on violence in televised sport. Again, the problem is one of definition--how does one define violence in sports which are often inherently violent? Perhaps television executives could solve the dilemma by restricting their coverage of violence to that which occurs in the regular course of play and largely ignoring the fights which may transpire after the whistle has blown. In addition, commentators could help downplay violence by praising particularly skillful or well-executed plays rather than highlighting displays of brute force.

Herrndorf felt that television sports personnel needed to ask serious questions about screening hockey violence. The major question to be asked, said Herrndorf, was: "Why can violence be condoned in hockey when it isn't condoned outside the rink?" The answer, he said, required delving into the relationship between sports and society--into ethics, the culture, some of the social circumstances of hockey--and that was not done by sportscasters or commentators. He also observed that though many of the major political, social and cultural issues that Canada faced were reflected in sport, they were seldom, if ever, covered by sportscasters or sports writers. "Sports have been exceptionally conservative in terms of breakthroughs and innovations in terms of how they cover it verbally, journalistically" (1982:11).

Clements, in The Canadian Corporate Elite, suggested the conservative approach to sports coverage could be explained by the influence advertisers/sponsors wielded over the sport "product" and its presentation. The owners and presidents had a great deal of influence on programming if money were not a major issue; however, money frequently was an issue. In some ways advertisers/sponsors had far more power and influence than many realized or liked to admit. In any event, the role played by the advertisers/sponsors in television and sport is worth examining in greater detail.

D. Sponsors/Advertisers

> It has been suggested in these pages that sponsors - mainly global corporations that form the large majority of leading network sponsors - dominate our programming far more extensively than most viewers suppose.
>
> Their influence over it is spearheaded by "commercials" - the focal point of creative effort;" protected by "entertainment" designed to fit sponsor needs; bordered by a fringe of successfully neutralized "public service" elements; and by a buffer zone of approved "culture."
>
> Few viewers know what may be missing from the picture window, for their idea of the world is increasingly formed by that window (Barnouw, 1978:151).

The "window" did not permit the viewer to see the influence of sponsors/advertisers. But the influence of the advertising industry on the media and sport began as far back as the 1930s in radio and continued into television where it grew even stronger. "The sponsor-supported system evolved for radio offered a pattern for the age of television" (Barnouw, 1978:42). As was discussed earlier and in chapter II, the relationship among sport, radio and advertisers/sponsors was one of mutual co-operation dating back to the Toronto Maple Leaf radio broadcasts sponsored by General Motors and later Imperial Oil. The mutual co-operation which existed in radio among the triumvirate remained when the medium changed to television. The parties involved worked together to produce shows for the audience of a quality sufficient to encourage continued viewing.

By the time television arrived advertisers/sponsors were ready to take the lead in generating program ideas and buying time for them on the network. For example, in the early 1950s in the United States the Gillette Company paid the network the appropriate sum of money and ordered a particular time for programs like the "Gillette Cavalcade of Sports." This rather simplistic approach did not last very long; in 1956 the networks began to evolve a partnership relationship and by 1962 the United States networks were buying the events directly. In Canada this pattern had not fully evolved; advertising money, especially from beer and oil companies, fuelled television's growth through to the 1980s. "You need an angel in Canada and traditionally in sports the angels have proved to be beer or refined gasoline. When the gas shortage in the early 1970s made the gasoline business or the fuel business a little less competitive, the beer companies were quick to move in" (Nixon, 1984:3). It is difficult to imagine the Canadian broadcasting system with both the private and public sectors having developed to the extent it has without advertisers/sponsors.

The role of the sponsor as opposed to the advertiser in Canadian sport on television began to change in the 1960s. During the 1950s and early 1960s sponsorship, in which one company financially supports an entire program, was most prevalent; for example, Imperial Oil was the sole sponsor of hockey telecasts for many years. But by the late 1960s single sponsors found it too costly to support an entire sport program, and several advertisers began to "sponsor" an entire program. In the late 1970s and early 1980s the role of the sponsors/advertisers shifted slightly again; one company, the primary sponsor, bought a sporting event or the rights to televise a sporting event and then sold smaller amounts of advertising time for the event or program to other companies. Thus there was a primary sponsor and supplemental advertisers supporting the program. The major sponsors/advertisers of television sport programming in Canada over the last thirty years were oil companies, automobile manufacturers, tobacco companies and Canadian breweries.

Imperial Oil's forty year sponsorship of hockey was one of the longest sport-sponsor relationships in Canada. In 1936 Imperial became the sponsor and owner of the rights to radio and television broadcasts; later it became a co-sponsor, and finally, withdrew its commitment in 1975. When Imperial Oil picked up the sponsorship of the Saturday Night hockey game radio broadcast of the Toronto Maple Leafs in 1936, "Pendegast and Imperial Oil felt it was the most Canadian thing to do, to sponsor hockey broadcasts. Pendegast was a smart advertising and PR man to know that every kid [who was a hockey player or who loved hockey] would one day grow up and drive an automobile and would buy Imperial 3 Star gasoline. He had that kind of vision" (Horler, 1984:14). Besides being the "Canadian thing to do," Imperial Oil's sponsorship of the hockey games was "a good advertising buy, because nobody knew what would become of it at that time because it had only been on the air two years" (Twaits, 1984:8). In 1936 the company began choosing three stars at the end of each game as an advertising/promotional gimmick. This feature became a tradition which outlasted its namesake, Imperial's 3 Star gasoline. As mentioned earlier, Imperial Oil sponsored Saturday Night hockey on radio in Canada through the Depression and the war years and this proved to be very beneficial in the long run to the company.

> . . . Even to this day, go and talk to the older farmers, they'll tell you that their loyalty to Imperial was often related to the fact that we brought them "Hockey Night in Canada." . . . The hockey game was a very efficient way to get the people because they didn't have any money to go out. So if they had a radio, they would sit at home and listen to it. After the war it was not unusual for surveys to tell you they had 65% of everybody living in the country listening to NHL playoffs. . . . We could measure reasonably well that it was a good advertising media for us in those days. We knew it mostly by peoples' comments, by surveys (Twaits, 1984:3,7).

When television came to Canada in the early 1950s Saturday night hockey, with Imperial Oil's sponsorship, was the first sports event televised. MacLaren Advertising bought the broadcast rights from the owners of the Gardens and the Forum and Imperial Oil guaranteed them by signing an agreement to be the advertiser. MacLaren negotiated the deals with the network or with the individual stations and acted as an agency on behalf of the oil company. Imperial Oil remained the sole sponsor of the Saturday night hockey telecasts until 1957, although other companies, such as Molson Breweries Limited of Canada, made unsuccessful attempts to join them. Being the sole sponsor had its drawbacks. For example, when Clarence Campbell sparked rioting in the streets of Montreal by banning Maurice

Richard from Stanley Cup championship play, Imperial Oil had 5,000 credit cards returned from Quebec. Although Imperial Oil had nothing to do with the situation the company was identified as "Hockey Night in Canada" and since the irate fans could not "get" at the Montreal Forum or Clarence Campbell they took their frustrations out on Imperial Oil. "I'll guarantee you there was no other broadcasting event in this country that has created those kind of situations whereby the sponsor suffers" (Twaits, 1984:14).

Imperial's sole sponsorship of the hockey telecasts came to an end in 1957 when Senator Hartland Molson and his brother Tom bought control of the Canadian Arena Company, which owned the Montreal Forum and the Canadiens, for $2 million and in turn sold the advertising rights to Molson Breweries Limited of Canada. "When the Molson brothers bought the Canadiens--who were a major attraction on 'Hockey Night in Canada'--the brewery acquired powerful leverage in its discussions with the oil company. Beginning in the autumn of 1957, Imperial Oil consented to Molson's being a co-sponsor of the broadcast" (Woods, 1983:299). At that time breweries were allowed to advertise only in Quebec and Ontario, hence part of the agreement between the co-sponsors was that once the laws changed in other parts of Canada, Molson would share equally in the advertising time on the hockey telecasts (Twaits, 1984). Molson did not get on television--on the Northern Ontario network first--until 1961. Even with the addition of Molson, the relationship among hockey, television and the co-sponsors remained one of mutual co-operation and benefited all partners.

When broadcast rights renewal time came in 1964, Imperial Oil, not MacLaren, negotiated for the Garden's rights. Imperial promised MacLaren that as long as Imperial was involved with hockey MacLaren would produce "Hockey Night in Canada." In the meantime, rights were increasing in price as were the costs of most aspects of network television. Molson sold those markets which banned beer advertising to Ford, thus dividing the sponsorship of "Hockey Night in Canada" into thirds. Imperial Oil owned the rights to the Maple Leaf Gardens and renewed them every four years until 1974-75 when the oil company decided to exercise its option to withdraw from the sponsorship of "Hockey Night in Canada."

The forty year relationship among professional hockey, radio/television and Imperial Oil could be viewed as symbiotic in nature. During those years as a sponsor of the broadcasts of professional hockey games, apart from the war years, Imperial Oil used the hockey games as an advertising vehicle. "We took it as a very good advertising deal even though there was a never ending argument in Imperial Oil from day one until the day we got out that the broadcast was not at the highest peak sales time for us" (Twaits, 1984:8). There were a few people in Imperial Oil who questioned the sponsorship of hockey because they felt the company did not receive the direct benefits of advertising since the oil industry's biggest peak sales traditionally occurred from spring through fall. Twaits thought this logic was "a little silly" because people did not make that kind of decision about buying their gasoline on any long or short term basis. Twaits believed hockey was a good advertising buy.

Imperial Oil dropped its sponsorship of "Hockey Night in Canada" for several reasons. But the primary one, according to Twaits, was that it no longer served as a good vehicle in terms of the audience or in terms of cost effectiveness. "It was so expensive. The economics of it didn't make any sense at all. It had become so fragmented in order to try and cut down the costs. There were so many sponsors in it, it was no longer Imperial Oil brings you 'Hockey Night in Canada'" (1984:5). As for the audience, it became apparent to Twaits that hockey attracted the same hard core viewer--the hockey nut who would watch hockey eighteen times a night if possible--and it did not get the numbers of the upper, mobile young people or the better educated people the oil company was after. The "hockey nut" was not the same type of person who was a regular customer at an Imperial Oil service station. Through surveys Twaits knew that Imperial Oil customers were on the average older, fairly affluent, higher mileage drivers who wanted a service station they could trust. Times had changed. When the oil company first sponsored "Hockey Night in Canada" many people cited the program when asked why they bought at Imperial's service stations. But when the games became sponsored by a variety of companies, it grew difficult to know which company or companies sponsored the games (Twaits, 1984). Another reason for Imperial Oil's withdrawal from "Hockey Night in Canada" was the disappearing need in the mid-1970s to advertise gasoline; there were more customers than oil. "It seemed silly to them to spend half a million dollars a year to tell people to buy Esso when cars were lining up at the pump begging for any kind of gasoline. It was a pure marketing decision made at that time" (Hough, 1982:18). Whatever Imperial's reasons for opting out, it was nevertheless a difficult decision for Twaits to make:

> It was so expensive that we couldn't afford to spend our advertising dollars in other places. So we found with all those things we could spend our money better in television. Imperial is back in hockey a little bit now but just in an occasional sport amongst a whole lot of other things.
>
> I didn't take them out of hockey because I thought hockey wasn't good. It was just costing us too much money and therefore I felt and I recommended it that we get away from it. You can always go back with a spot buy amongst a whole lot of other things. . . . But it was a tough thing for Imperial Oil to swallow--forty years as sponsor. . . Nobody ever was the sponsor of one program for forty years until we

> came along. It was a good advertising buy and it still is. But in terms that we were looking at at that time it didn't make much sense (1984:6).

Sponsoring hockey telecasts, other sports and/or sporting events did make sense to Molson and Canada's two other breweries, Labatt and Carling O'Keefe. Over the decades the three breweries played a major role in the relationships among sport, television and sponsors/advertisers. As mentioned earlier, the Molson family purchased the Canadian Arena Company, which owned the Montreal Canadiens and Forum, in 1957. They then let the brewery deal with the Forum management on a commercial basis and joined Imperial as co-sponsor of "Hockey Night in Canada." "We felt that was the only correct way for it to be . . . done at arm's length in so far as my brother and I were concerned" (Molson, 1984:2). Molson Breweries Limited of Canada has held the hockey broadcasting rights ever since, even during the period between 1971 and 1978 when the Canadian Arena Company was owned by the Bronfmans. In 1978 rumors surfaced that the Bronfmans wanted to sell the Canadian Arena Company and one of Molson's competitors, Labatt Brewing Company Limited, was going to make an offer to take it over. Significantly the closure of the deal would give Labatt the television broadcast rights for Canadiens' hockey. Molson Breweries Limited of Canada stepped in and bought back the Canadiens hockey club for an enormous price and rented the Forum with the option to buy over a period of ten years. "So it then became the property of the brewery, not of Tom Molson and myself. Quite a different relationship, a straight commercial relationship" (Molson, 1984:3). It was the commercial relationship which Senator Molson objected to in the rivalry which later developed between the Canadiens and the Quebec Nordiques (owned by Carling O'Keefe Breweries of Canada Limited). The Senator thought it unfortunate because it was built on the competition between the two breweries and was too commercial. "They're [Carling O'Keefe and the Nordiques] very anxious to use it as a vehicle in competition in our industry. We [Senator Molson and his brother Tom] didn't want to turn hockey into a straight commercial thing; we were interested in it primarily as a sport which we all loved and played. We tried very hard to keep it that way while using the television rights as somebody does for every sport there is" (Molson, 1984:5).

Though the Senator and his brother felt that way about hockey on television, the brewery had a different perspective. In The Molson Saga Woods wrote about the relationship between the brewery and hockey: "The importance of 'Hockey Night in Canada' to the brewery can hardly be overestimated; Molson's considered this program to be by far its most effective form of advertising" (1983:299). "Hockey Night in Canada" was, and continued to be, an effective form of advertising for the brewery because it attracted the "right" type of audience; it reached the prime target market of beer advertisers. The people who bought most of the beer in Canada were males between eighteen and thirty four years of age; the same type of people who watched hockey according to Twaits: "The perfect audience for 'Hockey Night in Canada' were the beer people. The guy that they portray who sits in front of the television set and drinks beer--by and large the blue collar guy who is kind of macho, plays a little bit of pick-up hockey himself and will sit in front of the tube as long as there's a skater to be seen" (1984:6). The eighteen to thirty four year old male not only watched hockey but all types of sporting events. The breweries discovered over the last thirty or more years that sports efficiently delivered the audience that they wanted to reach.

Canada's three major breweries have been involved in the acquisition of sports and sports' television rights since the late 1950s. While Molson was involved with the Montreal Canadiens, both Carling O'Keefe and Labatt were committing themselves to the larger sphere of sport. For example, in March 1961 Carling Breweries signed an agreement with the CBC to sponsor a fifty two week series called "World of Sport," which covered a wide variety of sports and showed many of Canada's and the world's top sporting events. C.O. Dalton, president of The Carling Breweries Limited, stated: "For the past several years Carling have been associated with major sports events. Since last June, we have been working with the CBC to extend our traditional interest in sports programming to as large a Canadian audience as possible" (CBC Memo, 1961). For its part, Labatt began sponsoring CFL football, a relationship which continued for over twenty years.

During the 1970s all three breweries expanded their involvements by purchasing sport television rights and/or sport properties; this was a conscious move on the part of the breweries. Initially the networks owned the sport properties and the breweries, as advertisers, bought what they had to sell. Essentially, of the major sport properties, hockey was Molson's, CFL football was Labatt's and Expo's baseball was Carling's. Then, in 1977, when Labatt went into the market to buy the Toronto Blue Jays the brewery realized that it could own the Toronto Blue Jays and their television rights but when it came time for the play-offs and World Series, Carling would automatically be the advertiser on those programs because they were the incumbent advertiser and because they were the advertiser on Expo baseball. Consequently Labatt felt that the only logical way to insure that it was the advertiser on those programs was to go directly to the American networks and buy the programs. "So we did. Now that we owned the playoffs and the World Series we were able to use that as leverage to get the Blue Jays better exposure on CBC. *That started the real brewery war for television properties* [italics mine]" (Hudson, 1984:3). The competition between the breweries was fierce; the breweries decided they had to have advertising exposure in certain parts of the country and as a result they paid a premium price (the difference between what a television network could afford and what a brewery could afford to write off or merchandise) to get involved in a sport. But the breweries still needed the networks to carry the sports in order to best advertise their products.

During the Brewery War Labatt hired Hudson away from the CBC to manage the further acquistion of sport properties: the ABC package of baseball playoffs and World Series in alternate years, Monday night football and some other sport programming; the NBC package; CBS's NFL football; World Cup soccer; and ownership of Canada Cup hockey. In 1981 Labatt "lost" the CFL football rights to Carling O'Keefe which purchased the CFL rights directly from the league for $15.6 million for three years because it was the only way in which the brewery could become a brewery sponsor on the telecast. Labatt had been the primary sponsor for twenty years and was not willing to relinquish its hold on the CFL market. By the end of 1982 the following was a brief summary of the professional sport involvements by each brewery (Bourne, 1984):

Carling O'Keefe Sports (sports presentations or activities sponsored by Carling O'Keefe Breweries of Canada Limited):

Baseball:	Montreal Expos	- national television, Quebec City radio, stadium advertising, promotion agreement
	New York Yankees	- Toronto and Southwestern Ontario television
Football:	CFL	- national television including Grey Cup,

		CFL All Star game promotional and television rights
	Montreal Concordes	- Montreal radio, stadium advertising, promotion agreement
	Ottawa Rough Riders	- Ottawa radio, stadium advertising, promotion agreement
	Toronto Argonauts	- ownership, Toronto radio, stadium advertising, promotion agreement
	Edmonton Eskimos & Calgary Stampeders	- radio, one-year contracts with right of incumbency
	NFL Football	- national television AFC regular season games, playoffs and Championships up to and including 1986-87, Orange Bowl and Fiesta Bowl, Super Bowl rights in 1986.
Hockey:	Quebec Nordiques	- ownership, French television Quebec City region market, French network radio excluding Montreal, arena advertising, promotion agreement
	Buffalo Sabres	- Toronto and Southwestern Ontario television, promotional support
Soccer:	Nil	

Labatt Brewing Company Limited:

Baseball:	Toronto Blue Jays	- 45% ownership, national television rights, promotional agreement
	World Series & All Star Game	- national television rights
Football:	Winnipeg Blue Bombers, Calgary Stampeders, Edmonton Eskimos, B.C. Lions	-promotional agreements will all of the listed CFL teams
	NFL Football	- national television NFC regular season, Rose Bowl up to 1986, Super Bowl in all years except 1986
Hockey:	Nil	
Soccer:	Vancouver Whitecaps	- promotion
	World Cup soccer	- national television rights through 1990

	CPSL	- major sponsor of the Montreal franchise

Molson Breweries Limited of Canada:

Baseball:	Vancouver Canadians	- minor league team, promotional agreement
Football:	Hamilton Tiger Cats	- promotion
	Saskatchewan Roughriders	- promotion
Hockey:	NHL	- "Hockey Night in Canada" sponsorship
	Montreal Canadiens	- ownership
	Winnipeg Jets, Calgary Jets, Edmonton Oilers, Vancouver Canucks.	- promotional agreements will all the listed Canadian teams in the NHL
Soccer:	Montreal Manic	- ownership of this 1981 NASL entry
	Toronto Blizzard	- promotion

All three breweries had involvements in amateur sport, promotions and national foundations as well.

The breweries, through ownership, sponsorship and advertising, formed an infrastructure that supported both professional and amateur sport in Canada. But their motives were not altruistic. They did it as a "way of winning the hearts and throats of Canadian consumers" (Montreal Gazette, December 24, 1982). The main reason breweries were involved to such a great extent was to sell beer at a reasonable price and at a reasonable cost to the brewery to get it into the hands of the consumer. Generally the breweries preferred to hold the television rights of a sport rather than own the team; owning a club was simply not profitable. But television commercials during sport programs offered an excellent communication vehicle into the beer drinking market, which consisted of eighteen to thirty four year old sports-minded males. The breweries measured the efficiency of the programs purchased in what was called cost per thousand, that is, how many dollars it cost to reach one thousand people in the target market group. The target cost per thousand in the early 1980s ranged between $10-$15 per thousand. The breweries bought so many sport properties because they wanted to have their message in front of their target market twelve months of the year. In addition to sport programs, they purchased movies and specials like the Academy Awards and the Emmy's because they too attracted big audiences, and any program that attracted a large male audience segment. "We don't want to put all of our eggs in one basket. We're in sport probably 70-75% in terms of audience and probably 90% in terms of dollars. In terms of dollars a year we are looking at somewhere around an excess of $20 million" (Hudson, 1984:5).

Involvement in sport also provided the breweries, whose advertising opportunities were limited by law, all kinds of promotional opportunities not available through sponsorship of other programs (Hough, 1982). "Having identified their audience, they obtained vehicles that were directed towards that specific audience. That's not peculiar to Canada, it happened in the USA as well. It goes back a long time, since breweries discovered that sports were a very logical way to reach their market" (Houston, 1984:11). The breweries were not the only companies interested in sport as a promotional vehicle. Generally, manufacturers of any product which sold predominantly to men were lured to sport and its large, mostly male audiences.

Another advertiser/sponsor attracted to sports events was the tobacco company. In the early 1960s companies like Imperial Tobacco became involved in sponsoring sports events such as Grand Prix racing and World Cup skiing. In 1961 Imperial Tobacco brought the first International Sports Car Race to Canada, Mosport, a CanAm race. In 1967, as a Centennial event, the same company brought the first Grand Prix race to Canada. In 1963 the first World Cup skiing race--the DuMaurier International--was brought to Canada by Imperial Tobacco. Skiing was a good television property/vehicle before the restrictions were placed on advertising expenditures within the tobacco industry. When Imperial Tobacco first brought World ~~Cup~~ skiing to Canada the average skier was in his/her early twenties. But by 1966 the average age in skiing had dropped to between thirteen and sixteen years, so Imperial stopped and voluntarily withdrew its sponsorship, reasoning that it should not be appealing to such a young age group. The Bank of Montreal picked up the sponsorship. "Tobacco is a much more sensitive industry at this point. Most of their major sponsorships are in adult sports or in professional sports. That's one of the main reasons. . . . our client wouldn't appeal to young people or indirectly address them" (Houston, 1984:17).

Houston believed Imperial Tobacco was a unique sponsor because it wanted to put something back into the community within which it did business. True, the company wanted marketing exposure but it also wanted to be seen as making a contribution. "That's why they do the things the way they do. When they put up the money for the Canadian Open or DuMaurier Championship, it's all one way--the money goes out. They do not share in the proceeds. They do not share in the gate" (Houston, 1984:5). By contributing to sport, Imperial Tobacco believed it would be viewed as a good corporate citizen and get exposure for its brand names, if not actual products. Tobacco companies never mentioned the word "cigarette" when sponsoring sport. For example, the Canadian Tennis Championship was called the Players Challenge, not the Players Cigarette Challenge. Indeed, tobacco companies never put the word "cigarette" in any of their advertising; even cigarette packages were rarely seen displayed on billboards. After the tobacco companies were banned from television or any broadcast medium advertising, the sponsorship of sporting events grew especially important; promoting the brand name was the only way they could create an awareness of any kind. That was a battle for a share of the market and a share of the mind (Houston, 1984).

Many sponsors/advertisers, like Imperial Tobacco, asked public relations agencies like the Houston Group to help them in their relationships with television and sport. As a result, the Houston Group packaged sport promotions or became the intermediary between the sponsor and the sporting association. "The catalyst comes along and brings the parties together and everybody sees the benefit of it. . . . An agency like ours becomes the catalyst. We'll identify an opportunity and go to a client and say that the Canadian Tennis Championship is available for sponsorship" (Houston, 1984:14). The Houston Group was a catalyst in the [symbiotic] relationship(s) among sport, television and advertisers/sponsors. Houston thought two factors were necessary if a sport event was to be successful for its client: the event must be televised; and the event must be named after the client, for example, the Players International Tennis Championship. Houston believed television conferred prestige upon a sport events; without television, the sport event would serve only as a regional promotion. When both factors were present only then would the advertiser/sponsor reap the full benefit of its association with sports.

Putting together televised sport packages has formed the key part of the Houston Group's business since it opened in 1972. The company has a department devoted entirely to negotiating deals with the major television networks, and many of its employees come from sport or sport-media backgrounds (Houston, 1984). As well, the Houston Group had the exclusive rights and "owned" the DuMaurier Classic women's golf event in Canada. "So we package that entire event, we negotiate with the golf clubs to host it, provide the committees with manuals on what they have to do, then we negotiate the television rights" (Houston, 1984:15). As a result of the linkages the company had created, it worked for and with most of the major advertising agencies, though it did no advertising itself. Houston discovered that a successful combination of sport, television and advertisers/sponsors usually occurred when sport associations went to sponsors who were prepared to spend a lot of money producing a first class event. A first class event would attract television and television attracted a bigger audience. A bigger audience meant more money for the association, more collateral promotions and more merchandising opportunities.

MacLaren Advertising was another major catalyst in the sport-television-advertiser/sponsor relationship. From 1930 to 1971 MacLaren had more influence on Canadian sport broadcasting than any other advertising group because of its sponsorship and production of "Hockey Night in Canada." "I think there was only one game in town and that was the hockey game and we had it. People tried over the years to get it away from us, but they never managed it" (Horler, 1984:25). Horler admitted there were "trade-offs" with general programming but the Canadian content required by the Broadcasting Act was met by sponsoring "Hockey Night in Canada." Because hockey was Canadian content the agency never suffered (Horler, 1984). Hockey was one of the reasons MacLaren was fortunate enough to keep control. The television stations were required to have 50% Canadian content and every hockey broadcast of two and a half hours provided a great deal of Canadian content.

Hockey on television developed to the point where "Hockey Night in Canada" became the primary product of one section of MacLaren's broadcasting department. As the hockey broadcasts became more expensive and complex (it was on both networks each week) it became apparent that the section of the agency which produced "Hockey Night in Canada" needed to separate from the main advertising agency. The sponsors, Imperial Oil and Molson, wanted to have two separate companies to work with--one an advertising agency and the other a production company. "Then you have costs for this and costs for that and one shouldn't have anything to do with the other. One is an advertising cost and the other is a production cost. For their own corporate purposes it made more sense that way" (Twaits, 1984:22). It was also advantageous for the "new" production company to distance itself from MacLaren to render the program more acceptable to sponsors using other advertising agencies. Since advertising agencies were restricted from handling two accounts for a similar product (for example, MacLaren could not have the accounts for both Ford and General Motors), "Hockey Night in Canada" was limited in its choices of sponsors/advertisers while it remained under MacLaren's domain (Horler, 1984). The production section of the agency separated into a company called Video Tape Productions, which evolved into the Canadian Sports Network (CSN) in 1972 (Hough, 1982). CSN was a corporate spinoff of MacLaren Advertising created for the purpose of producing and selling "Hockey Night in Canada."

When Imperial Oil withdrew its sponsorship of "Hockey Night in Canada" the CBC took over the responsibility of selling the program and has had control of commercial sales since 1975 while CSN was in charge of the administration of the commercial rights and television production of the hockey game. "We deal with the hockey clubs. We are the funnel through which things go between the hockey club, the leagues and so on back to the consortium. We produce and package the thing for them" (Selke, 1980:22).

CSN controlled hockey for a consortium comprising Molson and the CBC. CSN was under contract to the consortium and negotiated the rights on behalf of the consortium partners. In essence, CSN was a production house which packaged hockey into local and regional coverage and selected those games that went national and those which went regional. CSN also put together a package, separate from the CBC's, for ITV in Edmonton, Calgary, Winnipeg because Molson owned all the television rights for all the clubs in Canada with the exception of the Nordiques which are owned by Carling O'Keefe. "It's kind of strange, because we have sold off bits and pieces of the package to competitors of the CBC but it comes back to the CBC around through the other door, because whatever we recover in the sales, 50% of it goes back to CBC" (Selke, 1980:23). In 1980 the CBC package cost $20 million a year. Because of CSN's close relationship to Molson and the CBC it did not venture into the open market and produce and package programs for Labatt, Carling O'Keefe or CTV. "Where Molson's is involved or where we have been able to take a piece of the action ourselves, without any conflict, we have been involved. But we don't get ourselves involved where there is any conflict [of interest]" (Selke, 1980:25).

The involvement of companies such as CSN, MacLaren, the Houston Group and sponsors/advertisers such as Imperial Tobacco, the three Canadian breweries and Imperial Oil in a relationship with sport and television indicated the importance placed on sport programming on television. One brewery executive interviewed said his company expected to sell beer by putting the brand advertising message into the context of the television sport presentations sponsored by his company. "We have the audience, the medium and the message all working for us" (Bourne, 1984). Sport on television was regarded as a good medium or vehicle to deliver the "message" to audiences.

The 1970 Senate Report stated that, in a capitalist society, what the media were selling was an audience and the means to reach that audience with advertising messages (Clements, 1975). The content of a program, for an advertiser, was a means of attracting the audience; sport programming delivered the "right" audience to advertisers/sponsors, hence television, which relied on advertising for most of its revenues, liked sport. Advertising was a major source of revenue for television and because of that had an influence on the decisions which were made and the type of relationship which existed. "The symbiotic relationship between the media and advertisers is clear. Each is dependent on the other. It would be absurd to take the position that the presence of advertising as the major source of revenue does not affect the content" (Clements, 1975:296). The advertisers/sponsors did not necessarily directly determine the content of a program but the media elite were very aware of what they liked and planned accordingly. The advertisers/sponsors did not make any program decisions directly for the network because they only purchased time slots in programs. But with every time slot purchased or not purchased, as the case may be, a decision was made which helped some programs to survive and others to perish (Barnouw, 1978).

The importance of sponsors to sport and television in Canada cannot be underestimated according to MacPherson who stated that without Molson or Husky as sponsors there would not be the men's or women's World Cup downhills in Canada. "They're very important to us, CBC, and probably CTV. Once they make a commitment to support a ski team, buy the rights, then their exposure on television is every bit as important" (1985:14). Sometimes a network had to take the initial "gamble" on an amateur sport without having solid sponsorship, as CTV did when it first began to cover international hockey and figure skating. According to Chercover, there were a few corporate sponsors willing to be identified with the amateur sport movement but the general advertising community was not. There had to be an investment period when the network bore the costs of production, time lines and all those other things to introduce the event, develop an audience, measure the audience and demographics and demonstrate to advertisers that it was a desirable event for their marketing needs (1982). This was no longer the case in the 1980s. Now, more than at any other time, corporations began "fighting" one another to be associated with major amateur sport events such as an international hockey tournament or figure skating competition. The reason for this new interest was best summarized by Imperial Oil's Twaits: "Anything is good if it delivers the kind of audience you want. That's really what you are talking about. [It has] Nothing to do if you're in the sports business or not, [the key is] if it delivers the right kind of audiences. Some sports do; any sport does a certain amount but maybe one is more efficient than another" (1984:11).

The media elite recognized that advertisers/sponsors had influenced sport and the broadcasting of it. Bassett stated that advertisers affected the pace of the game with the insertion of commercials; but he did not think the time-out hurt the game (1982). Moreover, he pointed out, the majority of advertisers/sponsors usually did not try to dictate editorial content to the networks or who would do the games' play by play. But, as MacPherson pointed out, sponsors would be listened to, especially if they had something reasonably intelligent to say, but it did not mean anything would be done about it (1985). The CBC made all the decisions relating to commercials, producers and directors. None of its programming departments, including sports, were involved with sponsors at all. The sales department of the CBC was responsible for selling the commercial openings within a program to advertisers. Sometimes there was an overlap between the progam and the commericals (Goodwin, 1982). This "overlap" occurred in situations such as "Hockey Night in Canada" where the sponsors owned the television rights and sometimes exerted pressure. Hough explained how CSN handled that situation: "I guess we listened to everybody and then tried to balance out what obviously they might indicate they would like to see happen with what our own programming judgment tells us should happen. As a rule there is no real difficulty. . . . We don't just drop something extraneously into the show in order to accommodate the sponsor" (1982:8).

Many sponsors said they exerted no influence or pressure on the sport or television production; however, evidence contradicted this. Twaits felt that Imperial Oil, the former sponsor for "Hockey Night in Canada," never had any input into dictating how the game was played. "We had no say, in a sense, but bear in mind [the fact that] MacLaren hired broadcasters, made the deals with CBC and, in fact, packaged the show. We were the advertiser on the show. We had nothing to do with the show itself other than as an advertising vehicle" (Twaits, 1984:8). The only time there were discussions regarding "Hockey Night in Canada" and its entire production was when it came time to renegotiate the rights and then everything was discussed, including intermissions. Both Imperial Oil and Molson had an interest in the nature and quality of the intermissions and felt they could influence that part of the program. But sponsor control over the intermissions generally was not abused; the most Imperial Oil did was replace its commercials at Christmas time with the Esso carollers. The two sponsors also recognized that they could not control what was going on on the ice although some tried to "improve" the game. As a sponsor and owner Senator Molson lobbied for rule changes governing fighting, high sticking and spearing at the League's Board of Governors meetings but was not successful in changing the views of the American owners (Brace, 1985). During the decades when only one or two companies sponsored a sport program the role of the sponsor was "fairly clear cut. Despite anything that anybody tells you a sponsor had absolutely no influence" (Twaits, 1984:19). Now that role has changed and Twaits felt there were no longer sponsors of sporting events but rather there were a great number of advertisers on sport programs.

Actually, the advertisers'/sponsors' role varied depending on the sport. In Canada the advertisers/sponsors played a different role in CFL football than they did in baseball or hockey. The rights to the CFL were always acquired by one of the two networks and then shared with the other until 1981. The networks produced the football games their own way and because the networks owned the rights and sold commercial "spots" to advertisers/sponsors the ability of an advertiser to influence the production of football was minimal. This was different from baseball where the Blue Jays and their television rights were owned by a sponsor, Labatt. TV Labatts produced and delivered the games in a package and negotiated with the networks for its sale. "They are the ones that come up with the sponsors. We really don't care for that matter. We don't try to be counter-productive so that we are going against them. If they have Gulf on them, we don't try to do something with Petro Canada. We don't have anything to do with it" (Beaston, 1985:12). In hockey the situation again differed because the television rights to every Canadian team, except the Nordiques, had been purchased by Molson. Hence those teams' games were produced and packaged by CSN. "Hockey Night in Canada" was a co-production:

> No one has complete say in a co-production. We are, in essence, producing and packaging "Hockey Night in Canada" for the corporation [CBC]. When you produce and package for someone you do it to their specifications. Likewise in meeting their specifications you meet your obligations to the people whose product you handle. In this case it's the clubs who own the National Hockey League whose rights we co-ordinate and administer. So you tread a narrow line--balancing the program values of what the network people would like to have and what your common sense tells you the people who own the product would like to have done with their product. It's the middle of the road [approach]--you try to keep eveyone happy. It's a marriage (Hough, 1982:4).

Nixon agreed with Hough's attempt to accommodate all who were involved, especially when there was a valued client or network and they had paid money through the partnership. "You try to accommodate their needs within reason. It's the balance between what's reasonable and what isn't" (1984:13). Sport considered it "reasonable" to accommodate the networks and sponsors on numerous occasions by changing or delaying starting times of games. On the other hand, problems arose and negotiations occurred regarding the accommodation of the sponsor's/advertiser's commercials--initially considered by some as "unreasonable."

The majority of negotiations which occurred in the partnership among a sport, television and a sponsor/advertiser dealt with the inclusion of the sponsor's commercial message during the course of the sporting event. These commercial breaks irritated both home viewers and stadium or arena spectators. During the 1950s commercials were never allowed to interrupt the play by play of the game. At most, in hockey, "supers," funny animated characters, were allowed to run across the bottom of the screen. Hough, and others, thought those supers were the most effective commercial ever devised or at least more effective than anything that was devised since

(1982). But in the 1960s, as costs for television rights and production escalated and were borne primarily by the sponsors/advertisers, the sponsors/advertisers wanted more exposure for their products during the times when the viewer was most likely to watch--during the game. Long debates ensued between the television and sport people, resulting in a range of demonstrations showing how commercials could be unobtrusively inserted during the course of play and made to fit the nature of the broadcast. Since network policy required commercials to be either thirty or sixty seconds long, sport and television personnel devised ways to extend a natural break in play to thirty or sixty seconds. It was agreed to notify the linesman in hockey, the umpire in baseball, or the referee in CFL football via buzzer, light, or flag. The official would hold up the play until a signal indicated the commercial had ended. Individuals from the sport's league office regularly checked to make sure the television people did not abuse the commercial time. "That is a provision because nothing gets people quite as irate as missing a goal because one is watching the joys of somebody's friendly bubbly; it gets an awful lot of resentment going against the beer company" (Nixon, 1984:15). Generally the artifical stoppages in play for commercials have been accepted by viewers and spectators as a necessary "evil"--one of the prices paid to have the sport televised.

The inclusion of commercial time-outs was just one of the accommodations or negotiations which occurred in the relationship(s) among sport, television and sponsors/advertisers. The relationship(s) affected many changes in all three partners in the past and there was a great deal of speculation as to what the future held. The Brewery War changed the relationship(s) ~~by inf~~lating the dollar value of sport and thus limiting the number of companies which could afford to use them as an advertising vehicle. Because of the Brewery War the three major breweries in Canada were very involved in the acquistion of sport, sport rights and the exploitation of those rights. The breweries still needed the networks to carry the sport and advertise the products (Craig, 1984). Realistically there was only so much money and so many sport properties available to advertisers/sponsors/owners; eventually the escalation of the bidding wars would have to level off. As a former owner and sponsor, Senator Molson agreed: "It seems to me it is like everything else in life. It has to level off and rationalize a bit because people are scratching awfully hard and are paying very fancy prices for these things" (1984:12). It was the general consensus that the leveling off stage was fast approaching. Labatt's Hudson said there was not much left to "fight" over for the next several years. "If we didn't buy another thing for the next several years it wouldn't bother us because we don't really need it. [This is] Not to say that we won't select or buy things here and there but we really don't need a lot of the things that are going to be available. All the major events are under control for at least the next three years" (1984:11).

Another concern expressed about the effects of the Brewery War was that it had induced Canadian professional sport to build a false economy for itself. Brace warned that if sport began demanding too much money from sponsors, the latter would eventually say "no more," thus ending the relationship. "Sponsors, one way or another will say 'no more,' in fact less--I'm getting out. I don't think sport can adjust [to such a radical decision]" (1985:21). Television would also be affected by the advertisers/sponsors withdrawal because sport was popular programming with audiences. It would not be a great situation for advertisers/sponsors but Brace thought they would find other ways of advertising; his main concern was for sport:

> I don't think it is in the interest of the sport to get the price up beyond where it should be because there is the danger if the breweries ever pulled out of sports, or were legislated out, the economic base of some sports could not do without the brewery dollars. How many other advertisers are there around? You have to have an equivalent war to pay that premium. Tobacco companies went out of this, way ahead of whatever may happen to us. . . . If breweries were legislated out of sports television it would be a hell of an economic impact (1985:20).

Even if the breweries were not legislated out of sport, other individuals thought that sooner or later the breweries were going to come to their limits and not pay any more exorbitant rights' fees. For example, Labatt reached its limit in the bidding for the CFL football rights in 1981 when Carling O'Keefe bid $15.6 million and Labatt let it go; the cost per thousand viewers showed it just was not worth that much. "To them it may be worth it, that's their business. We are the judge and analysts of our business and we decided that at that price it was no longer worth it, so we got out of it" (Hudson, 1984:10).

By the 1980s there were a limited number of sport properties for sale and a limit on how much money an advertiser/sponsor would spend to "sell" its product to a television audience. MacPherson summed up the situation: "During the tight economy people look at the bottom line. No longer do you just do it because it is good for the image of the company; there is sure to be a chartered accountant around somewhere who wants to know is it worth the cost per thousand we are spending and what kind of return are we making" (1985:18). That was difficult to judge when it involved sport sponsorships but it was not as difficult to judge when only the sport's television rights were involved because statistics were kept on the number of people watching a game. It was evident that many men involved with sport, television and sponsorship felt that the 1980s would see a continuing evolution of the symbiotic relationship(s) among the three. Not only would the breweries change their sponsorship but new technological advances would change the television broadcast, and perhaps the sports themselves.

E. Changes

One of the criteria used by Parente in his examination of the relationship between sport and television in the United States and also used by Lucas, Real and Mechikoff in their examination of the relationship between television and the Olympics was the change in sport brought on by television. The questions asked were had sport changed in essential ways to meet the needs and desires of television and, if so, what changes occurred. These questions or criterion were also used in this investigation to determine if the relationships among sport, television and advertisers/sponsors were symbiotic in nature. Another question asked in this investigation dealt with the changes in television brought about by sport; had television changed in essential ways because of its relationship with sport and, if so, what type of changes occurred.

During the first thirty years of Canadian television there were many innovations and developments which contributed to the development of television. These technical advancements and changes were brought about by the need and desire of people in the industry to experiment and improve the quality of what the audience saw on television whether it was the evening news or a hockey game. Sport played an important role in the technical advances of television by providing an area in which producers, directors, and cameramen could experiment. Additionally, sport was affected in various ways by the attention it received as a consequence of television. The interplay between television and sport over the years allowed, created and was responsible for numerous changes in each partner's operation. It was an evolutionary process but there certainly was a change. For example, if one examined tapes of football games from the late 1950s and early 1960s, one would see a very different game from the one played on television today in terms of number of cameras and the variety of shots and angles presented to the viewer. The electronic manipulation--the flip of the screen, the zoom in, the zoom out and the closeup--was all designed to entertain the viewer (Hudson, 1980).

As stated earlier, technological advances from television's inception to the present have been numerous. The most interesting part of the development was probably in the sphere of engineering, the production techniques and the technical innovations in television which have consistently improved (Fisher, 1985). Among the advances: videotape, instant replay, satellite, colour, character generator, electronic graphics, smaller and sophisticated cameras, improved and different camera lenses; smaller videotape machines, slow motion disc, RF radio frequency and wireless microphone, fiber optics system, triaxcable, hand-held camera, slow motion colour camera, autocar, telestrator, and mobile units. Much of the technology had been designed in Europe or Japan but was brought to North America by American networks attempting to provide bigger and better coverage. Once one network started the others needed to do it just to stay on top. But that did not exclude the CBC, CTV and other Canadian companies from being innovators as well, particularly in sport. Most of the television technology used today was developed with sport in mind.

Herrndorf believed that the only innovators in the television industry in the last twenty years have been within the sphere of sport and current affairs; current affairs because of the way they shot interviews and programs which was not so much technology as it was the way technology was used, and sport in the actual technology. The technology of sport was now used in every other form of television. Once singer Frank Sinatra insisted a network's sport camera crew be used to broadcast one of his major specials. Sinatra argued that the only people who understood live television were the sport crews (Herrndorf, 1982). Hudson thought the main reason that sport appeared to be the leader in the industry was because it was live television; the immediacy of live television demanded a great deal of creativity. In addition, networks competed with one another to produce the most sophisticated, audience appealing sport programs (Esaw, 1981). Sport producers and directors were also much quicker than other television personnel to seek out and find applications for new technologies because usually they would want something in order to get a particular shot or invent things right on the spot (MacPherson, 1985). CBC sport producer Jim Thompson thought sport producers and directors were innovators because they had to do things every day; "We're doing so much of it that I think some of the reasons that we innovate or why sport innovates is because we get bored doing the same thing over and over again" (1984:12).

Some of the technological advances and innovations brought about directly or indirectly by televising sport were the instant replay, isolation, stop action, squeeze zoom lens, slow motion disc, videofont and videograph, character generator, split screen, telestrator, autocar, as well as the creation of a smaller, more portable camera and equipment. Many people claim to have invented the instant replay, but there is fairly good evidence that the CBC accomplished the first instant replay in hockey on "Hockey Night in Canada" in about 1959 or 1960, though in a rather primitive fashion. George Retzlaff and his technicians had two videotape machines, took the tape out of one machine which was recording the game and, instead of putting the tape on the reel of that machine, they ran it across the room and stuck it through another machine so that the picture could be seen again. They had no ability to stop or start the videotape; they had to see the picture as it was being shown on the other machine so they had to cue out very quickly from what was on the first machine and the commentator discussed the picture (instant replay) from the second machine. The difference between when the action finished happening and when it was replayed was controlled by how much tape they could leave lying on the floor on the way over to the next machine (Hudson, 1980; Thompson, 1984). As detailed in chapter III, other more sophisticated forms of instant replay were developed in the early 1960s by television people in both the United States and Canada and each took credit for being the first. American Tony Verna was credited with the development of the instant replay but some individuals thought he developed the isolated instant replay. The Japanese, during the 1964 Olympics, introduced the slow motion instant replay which many in the industry felt was one of the greatest innovations in sport coverage (MacPherson, 1985). Slow motion instant replay basically slowed down the action as it was replayed, enabling the viewer to see what actually happened and the details involved in a particular action. It was also used as an instructional tool by the colour analyst to increase the audience's understanding and help the fringe fan to perhaps better appreciate the game/sport. In the late 1960s the slow motion disc was developed and built into the videotape machine, resulting in a tremendous savings in space and equipment. Early videotape machines were big, heavy, and cumbersome machines requiring two-inch tape. But soon they were replaced by sleeker one-inch machines which could be used for stop action and slow motion replay.

Sport also heightened the need for smaller and more sophisticated cameras. In the 1950s and early 1960s the average camera weighed about 500 pounds and required four men to carry a camera to the football field or to the top of the grandstand. In the 1960s the solid state system was developed and the tubes disappeared. The weight of the cameras dropped steadily and by the 1970s some types of cameras weighed only forty five pounds (Esaw, 1981). In the 1980s only two men were needed to carry the big cameras; the newest cameras were the size of personal film cameras. Hand-held cameras were developed and used extensively in all types of sport coverage. In the 1950s and early 1960s a camera was also used ("wasted") during a sports event to shoot the clock so people at home knew how much time was left in the game; another camera shot graphics, which might include a person's picture and name. In the 1980s both the time and a person's picture and name could be electronically generated by personnel in either the trucks or the studio. Electronic equipment--electronic graphics, disc storing devices and electronic tie-in to a clock--and computers were used to store and generate video information (Sheehan, 1980; MacPherson, 1985). This sophisticated and easy-to-use equipment caused networks to go from three to six cameras for many sporting events. "The addition of the new electronic equipment, the tape machines, the stop action tape machines, slow motion and the replays have sophisticated television for us" (Esaw, 1981:11). The sophistication of sport coverage enhanced viewers' understanding of it; they felt more a "part of the action," instant experts who could break down films as well as the coach.

Just as the broadcasting of sport sparked technical changes in television production, television influenced and changed sport, or at least, gave sport an opportunity to change itself. Television made sport more accessible to larger and larger numbers of people throughout the world. "So television certainly has affected sport but I think in many ways it has offered it the opportunity to grow as rapidly as has the rest of society. I think sport has just kept pace with the growth of society, our affluence, our accessibility to leisure time through a certain period may be changing now" (Goodwin, 1982:16). Most of the individuals interviewed felt television had influenced sport in various ways but did not always agree to what extent. Nor did they all agree that television intended to change sport. Some sport purists wanted television to be a silent partner with no influence in the sport events it televised. This was not feasible and television justified its influence on sport on two accounts: money and ratings. The higher the ratings the higher the advertising fees; generating higher ratings meant doing things to please viewers. "Sport finds its greatest benefactor is electronic technology. . . . The impact of television in these last ten years has produced more revolutionary--and irrevocable--changes in sport than anything since mankind began to play organized games" (Johnson, 1969:456).

Some of the television-induced changes in sport have been in the areas of finances, commercials, structure and times of games, rules, officials and athletes, uniforms, and visual appearances of facilities. In the area of finances, the revenue from the networks changed the financial structure of some sports. For example, television increased the revenue for CFL teams and prompted the NHL to expand the number of teams in the league and the number of games they played. Leagues unable to secure long term network contracts, such as the North American Soccer League and World Football League, were eventually liquidated. In each case the respective league was unable to secure a network television contract for any length of time. When there was a short term network contract the teams in the league were unable to generate the size of audiences which were necessary for the television network to make a profit and want to continue with the sport (Athleide and Snow, 1978).

Perhaps television's greatest effect on sport, and one tied to finances, was the introduction of the break in play for a commercial. As mentioned before, the increased cost to the advertisers/sponsors of supporting a sport broadcast led to their demand for more effectively placed commercials. The advertiser/sponsor wanted to have more opportunity to reach the audience during the height of interest while the game was in progress. Elaborate sets of rules were established with regard to commercial time-outs. The NHL allowed six thirty second commercials during each period but none during the last two minutes of the game. The CFL allowed two sixty second commercials per quarter, a thirty second one in the middle of a quarter, plus commercials during time-outs requested by coaches. In professional baseball the inclusion of commercials increased the amount of time between innings from 105 to 120 seconds. This affected the flow of the ball game, some pitchers' pitching styles and the length of playing time to complete a game.

Television also induced sports to change starting times, competition sites and schedules. Most sports allowed a short delay in their starting time to accommodate televison's opening program but were reluctant to give television more time elsewhere during the game, for example extending an intermission, because that affected the actual playing of the game once it had started. Leagues have also changed the starting times of games to accommodate prime time in eastern Canada and the United States in order to reach the large eastern audiences. The CBC has exerted pressure on amateur sport officials to change starting times so their event would fit "live" into its Saturday afternoon "SportsWeekend." Usually television sport producers contacted sport officials months in advance of a desired time change, particularly in major amateur sporting events. Amateur sporting organizations were also urged by television personnel to hold important competitions in cities where there was a major television production centre or, failing that, to give the network enough lead time to properly equip the venue. Changing starting times and sites also influenced a sport's schedule. For example, in the 1976 Olympics a few scheduling changes were made so the CBC could get the sporting events closer to the package time (Hudson, 1980). Though television had no legal say on scheduling and was not to have any priority in football, during the 1970s the CFL office changed the starting times of league games to avoid secondary blackouts on television. This affected the overall league schedule because the CFL did not want to have a television blackout of the whole eastern market. "The organizations receiving the television booty usually are very willing to go along with most of what the networks want. They say they draw the line at that magic word, integrity, which usually means approving any changes short of altering the rules of the contests themselves" (Attner, 1977).

Even though some sport organizations stated publicly they would not alter the rules just for television, most sports actually did change some rules or organizational formats for better television coverage. "Because television seeks action that will be entertaining to millions of viewers, but who are seldom devoted followers of the game, a number of rule changes have been made" (Altheide and Snow, 1978:196). In curling, organizers did away with the straight round robin tournament and instead had a round robin tournament with playoffs, semi-finals and then a final. In rodeo there were no specific finals for a particular event, which meant the winner of an event could be decided on a Thursday morning when no one was around. This was changed so that each event had a televised final in the evening or on the last day. In U.S. college basketball the time clock was instituted which meant players had to shoot within a specific time and could not play a stalling game. In baseball and hockey, league playoff games were increased to the best four out of seven. Hockey changed several rules to speed up the game, improve player conduct and to control fighting. Both Fisher and Morrison, head of officials for the NHL, believed there were more rules in hockey and stricter enforcement because of television.

Indeed, television coverage had an indirect influence on officials. There was a concern about criticism of officials and their calls by television personnel on air, especially with the use of instant replays. In all sports, officials were under pressure to make sure their calls were correct. There was a positive effect; instant replays showed viewers just how accurate most officials were in their calls. The stature of good officials increased and some individuals were known and respected as competent officials. As television technology improved, officials were asked to wear microphones so their calls would be heard on air. This action placed added pressure on officials to watch their language. After a few embarrassing incidents, officials were issued special microphones which could be turned off easily.

Television has also had an influence on the appearances of sport facilities. Hockey arena operators were aware that millions of Canadians regularly saw their buildings via television and tended to keep them cleaner and tidier than they would otherwise. The arena conditions have improved, the board areas were cleaner and even the ice was better kept (Selke, 1980). In CFL football, said Gaudaur, television led to the addition of two new field markings and in the reduction of the large number of people who previously hovered on the sidelines at field level. It was also suggested that television influenced the installation of artificial turf in stadiums because it looked better throughout the year than having bare patches of mud in the middle of the field (Thompson, 1984).

Appearance was important on television whether it was a sport facility, as mentioned above, or an athlete. Television influenced the colour of uniforms worn by athletes; the jerseys were coloured for maximum visibility on television. Indeed, once colour television arrived, teams in both football and hockey consulted media experts about colours and designs of uniforms so they looked sharp on television. Names were added to the backs of uniforms in most professional sports to assist television commentators and viewers (Hudson, 1980; Gaudaur, 1980). Another example of television's influence on the appearance of athletes was given by Esaw who felt television encouraged figure skaters to wear more glamorous outfits during major international competitions, to take greater care with their hairstyles and to adopt more dramatic facial expressions. "All you have to do is watch the face of ice dancers and see that very dramatic look on their faces. Now I think that's because of television. They know they are on television and are being judged by what the people see. But they are being judged--what they're doing is a result of what they've seen on television" (Esaw, 1981:12).

Esaw said television had influenced the athlete's performance, in both positive and negative ways. Television has exposed a variety of sports to people of all ages, from all walks of life and thus has inspired and pressured some to pursue excellence and/or a career in sport. At the same time it has had a detrimental affect on minor leagues and sports in smaller communities by reducing spectator support and interest. Professional athletes demanded larger salaries because of television revenues. "Salaries have increased for at least two related reasons. First, the increased media coverage has made more money available to be dispensed. Second, the high-salaried players forged a new criterion and class of symbolic membership: the day of the superstar was born" (Altheide and Snow, 1978:202). But though television made some athletes rich and famous, it also stripped bare the athlete's mystique, rendering the athlete into a more visible, more recognizable personality both in and out of the athletic venue. In hockey, some officials maintained that players did not wear helmets because of "ego or vanity," and that fights went on longer when a game was televised. It was as if the participants wanted to show the folks back home that they had "made" it in the big leagues (Selke, 1980).

Taking into consideration all the changes in sport which television had either directly or indirectly influenced some sociologists and "purists" claimed that sport had prostituted itself to television. Individuals interviewed who worked in various sport organizations did not deny this and did not think it had been a bad thing if it helped the sport:

> Sociologists are right in the sense that sports have enhanced their performance to accommodate peculiarities of television. . . . There have been accommodations; in return money has been received. There's no question about it. Now the question is are the changes of a nature that inhibit, defeat, effect the basic game itself? We would not enter into a situation whereby there would be a commercial called in the order of play. We have very specific and a fairly elaborate set of rules. There are very specific things to protect against a great deal of the prostitution which the sociologists refer to (Nixon, 1985:17).

Sport organizations did not think they "prostituted" their sports' principles. They made changes of convenience for television because they wanted and needed television revenue and exposure. Parente (1977) found that professional sports changed rules, styles and playing fields to make themselves more attractive to television. He cited the example of the NFL's cutting its halftime program by five minutes so it would fit better into the networks' time packages which were sold to prospective sponsors. In the United States, Parente concluded, there were at least four reasons why sport considered television important in its decision making: i) television rights revenue was a large portion of a sport's total revenue; ii) television revenue was a more stable source of income than gate receipts; iii) there was potential to increase television revenue, but not always potential to increase attendance numbers and ticket prices; and iv) sport executives found it easier to accommodate and change their sport to appeal to television than it was to appeal to spectators (1977). The general consensus of those individuals interviewed was that television had changed sport a great deal but that it had not interfered with sport and that both have improved, progressed and profited from their relationships with each other. Just what the partners have received and benefited from the relationships was examined in the next section on paybacks.

F. Paybacks

The symbiotic relationships among sport, television and advertisers/sponsors were most evident in the broad area of paybacks. Paybacks were the benefits, usually financial, which accrued to one or all of the parties. Obviously the advertiser's/sponsor's payback occurred via increased sales of its product and thereby increased revenue and profit. Paybacks to a professional sport included increased attendance at home games therefore greater gate receipts; greater television revenue; and widespread promotion beyond the local level of the team and its abilities. Amateur sport derived increased exposure, greater fan support, and some revenue from television and sponsors. Canadian television networks' payback was their increased ability to meet Canadian content requirements, and revenues from advertisers/sponsors eager to buy time on sport programs. Finally, sport programs provided many hours of popular programming. In sum, television needed the sponsor/advertiser to provide money to purchase programming, the sponsor/advertiser needed a vehicle to sell its product and the sport needed revenue and exposure to continue its current state of existence. This triumvirate formed a relationship which was both symbiotic and self-perpetuating.

The advertisers/sponsors were pivotal in these relationships because they earned money from the consumer by selling their product on television. The amount of money which the advertisers/sponsors were willing to pay television was based on the popularity of the program and the size of the audience which received the message via television. Of course, the advertisers/sponsors received some public relations benefits from association with a popular and/or prestigious sporting event, but generally its payments were determined by audience size.

Once advertisers/sponsors identified their audience or target market they then obtained vehicles that were directed towards that specific audience. Traditionally in Canada the advertisers/sponsors which used sport as a vehicle to reach their audience were the oil companies, automobile manufacturers, tobacco companies and breweries. Statistics were kept by the networks which showed which programs attracted the largest audiences and the demographics of the audiences. These statistics were used by the networks in their discussions and negotiations with both the advertisers/sponsors and the sport concerning advertising dollars and television rights. In the last three decades of Canadian television sport programs have attracted some of the largest audiences in history. A 1981 CTV document listed the highest ranked programs of all-time in Canada on either the CBC or CTV according to A.C. Nielsen ratings. Three sport programs, all Canada-U.S.S.R. hockey games, were listed in the top ten with audiences of more than 5 million Canadians. (The movie Rocky was ranked number one, followed by another movie, Jaws.) "Hockey Night in Canada" has consistently been in the top five programs on the CBC since 1952. Its regular season games attracted an average of 2 million to 3 million viewers compared to 1.5 million for the national news. The Grey Cup game, on both the CBC and CTV, was also a favorite with Canadian audiences; according to the BBM (Broadcast Bureau of Measurement) ratings the 1979 Grey Cup attracted 5.981 million viewers.

The audience size was important to both the advertisers/sponsors and the networks because the larger the audience the higher the rate charged for advertising time. The Canadian Broadcasting Act allowed a maximum of twelve minutes of advertising time per hour. It was impractical and almost impossible to purchase individual advertising time slots in a program, so advertisers purchased time in blocks or packages. In the 1950s and 1960s sponsors purchased all the advertising time available on programs with which they wanted their products associated. But by the late 1960s it had become too expensive for one sponsor to support an entire program. For example, a one-hour program cost about $500,000 to produce, a prohibitive sum for most sponsors. Purchasing discreet advertising time was more economical for advertisers/sponsors and more financially beneficial for television networks.

The networks sold twelve sixty second periods during an hour long program to different advertisers and made more money than if they sold to one sponsor. In 1981, the CBC charged its advertisers between $8,600 and $11,400 per thirty second spot during a game on "Hockey Night in Canada" which equated to approximately $17,200 to $22,800 for a sixty second commercial. That cost was considered a good investment for the twenty to twenty five advertisers who bought time on "Hockey Night in Canada" because the program consistently attracted large audiences, which meant more product awareness and eventually more money to the advertiser. Sport was a popular and successful vehicle for the sponsor/advertisers to reach large audiences and television was the most effective means to reach the large audiences.

Television acted as a middleman in the triumvirate; it received money from the sponsor/advertiser, then used that money to buy the right to televise a sport. Canadian television benefited from Canadian sport programming because it had instant Canadian content and three to four hours of popular programming. Sport enabled the CBC to fill about 25% of its 60% Canadian content requirement. CTV and other private stations had a 50% Canadian content requirement and so also relied heavily on Canadian sport. In Table 9 the hours of sport (and outdoor) programming on the CBC in relation to the network's total hours of broadcasting over the last three decades are listed. Unfortunately there was a limited amount of information available for the first thirteen years and the type of data kept changed at least three times over the time frame. Two major trends seemed to exist: between the late 1950s and the early 1970s sport programming represented about 8% or 9% of the total hours of broadcasting in a sample week in the winter; and during the middle and late 1970s and early 1980s the percentage of sport-related programming rose to around 13% where it remained relatively constant. The approximately 5% jump between 1973-74 and 1974-75 was explained by the change in statistical methodology and/or the decision by the sports department to increase its amateur sport programming leading up to the Olympics. The increase in percentage in 1968-69 was due to the CBC's extensive coverage of the 1968 Olympics in Mexico City. The two increases in hours and percentages during the 1970s were due to the coverage given the 1976 Olympic Games in Montreal and 1978 Commonwealth Games in Edmonton. There was not an increase during the 1972 Olympics because the scheduled hours of programming were cancelled due to the terrorists' attack on the Olympic village. The hours and percentage of sport programming per year on the CBC have fluctuated slightly but remained relatively consistent throughout the 1970s and early 1980s. The CBC since 1974-75 has offered more hours of sport programming per year than any of the three American networks. [Note: statistics were unavailable for CTV.]

Canadian networks wanted sport programming because there was a great demand by the public to see sport events and the majority of sport programming was less expensive to produce than other types of programming. Those which were expensive to produce generally attracted large audiences and thus advertisers/sponsors were willing to pay the cost differential. Two examples were the Super Bowl football game in the United States and the Olympics. The rights for the Super Bowl in 1980 were sold for $2 million and the production costs of the game were estimated at about $450,000 to $500,000, which made the total costs about $2.5 million. The American network which bought the rights was allowed to run twenty minutes of commercials and charged advertisers/sponsors between $225,000 and $250,000 for one minute of commercial time. This brought in a revenue of

TABLE 9 Sport Programming, CBC English Television Network#

Year	Hours Sports & Outdoors (CRTC category)	Total Hours Broadcasting	Percentage Sport Programming
1952-53			
1953-54		30 hrs/wk	
1954-55		45 hrs/wk	
1955-56		55 hrs/wk	
1956-57			
1957-58		48 hrs/wk	9%
1958-59 *			
1959-60			
1960-61			
1961-62			
1962-63			
1963-64			
1964-65			
1965-66 **	6:00 hrs/wk	73:08 hrs/wk	8.8%
1966-67	6:00 hrs/wk	72:18 hrs/wk	
1967-68	7:00 hrs/wk	71:38 hrs/wk	
1968-69	6:30 hrs/wk	73:08 hrs/wk	8.9%
1969-70	5:45 hrs/wk	71:13 hrs/wk	8.1%
1970-71	6:00 hrs/wk	74:13 hrs/wk	7.4%
1971-72	6:00 hrs/wk	74:30 hrs/wk	8.0%
1972-73	6:00 hrs/wk	75:10 hrs/wk	8.0%
1973-74	6:15 hrs/wk	76:10 hrs/wk	8.2%
1974-75 +	532:22 hours	3948:22 hours	13.5%
1975-76	556:15 hours	4061:00 hours	13.7%
1976-77	623:57 hours	4190:36 hours	14.9%
1977-78	570:06 hours	4082:34 hours	14.0%
1978-79	627:49 hours	4028:41 hours	15.6%
1979-80	558:08 hours	3939:00 hours	14.2%
1980-81 ++	533:80 hours	3946:02 hours	13.5%
1981-82	512:71 hours	3919:54 hours	13.1%

# Information from the CBC Annual Reports 1953 to 1981-82.

* Information not included in the CBC Annual Reports 1958-59 to 1964-65.

** Based on a sample week in the winter, 1965-66 to 1973-74.

+ Based on total hours from 6 a.m. to 12 midnight.

++ Based on total hours from sign-on to 12 midnight.

approximately $5 million; so the network had a profit of about $2.5 million. The Olympics were a prime example of how television expenditures have soared dramatically but networks and advertisers/sponsors were willing to pay exhorbitant prices because the events attracted such large audiences. Table 10 contains the costs of Olympic television rights to the American rights holders and the hours of coverage on both American and Canadian networks. It was not possible to obtain the amounts spent by Canadian networks to buy the Canadian rights although suffice it to state that the Canadian rights cost a small fraction of what was paid for the American rights due to the large difference in the size of potential audiences. It should be noted that Table 10 shows a steady increase in the costs of the television rights and in the hours of coverage; the increased hours were to offset the increased costs and a result of the popularity of the Olympics with audiences and therefore, advertisers/sponsors. The dramatic increase in the amount paid for the 1988 Winter Olympics was attributed to the fact that the Games will be held in North America and so can be scheduled for the prime time eastern markets.

Sport, whether professional or amateur, was a great source of first rate programming appealing to millions of people. "The appetite for sport is there because of the lifestyle that North Americans enjoy today. It is something that as long as the public demands, television will respond. It's all intertwined; television requires sport because it generates a lot of advertising dollars because of the public demand" (Craig, 1984:15). Craig estimated that 40% of the CBC's revenue was generated by sport programming, which comprised only 13% of the broadcast schedule. Sport programming was a key element in the financial formula of broadcasting; sport programming's importance to the networks was summarized in the

TABLE 10 Olympic Television Rights and Coverage

Year/Location			U.S. Rights (in millions)	(Network)	Hrs. U.S. Coverage	Hrs Can. Coverage (approximate)	(Network)	Can. Rights
1956	W	Cortina	0			1-2	(CBC)	
	S	Melbourne	0			Radio only		
1960	W	Squaw Valley	.05	(CBS)	16	2	(CBC)	
	S	Rome	.395	(CBS)	31	7	(CBC)	
1964	W	Innsbruck	.597	(ABC)	17.5	9.5	(CTV)	$5,000
	S	Tokyo	1.5	(NBC)	25	11	(CBC)	
1968	W	Grenoble	2.5	(ABC)	27	11.5	(CBC)	
	S	Mexico City	4.55	(ABC)	40	30	(CBC)	
						14	(CTV)	
1972	W	Sapporo	6.4	(NBC)	40	12+12	(CBC)	
	S	Munich	13.5	(ABC)	64	37 p*	(CBC)	
1976	W	Innsbruck	10	(ABC)	43	45	(CTV)	$360,000
	S	Montreal	25	(ABC)	75	175	(CBC)	
			[9.45	(Europe)]		24	(CTV)	
1980	W	Lake Placid	15.5	(ABC)	53.5	55	(CTV)	$907,500
	S	Moscow	100	(NBC)	150 p*	boycott	(CBC)	
1984	W	Sarajevo	91.5	(ABC)	63.5	70	(CTV)	$2.25 m.
	S	Los Angeles	225	(ABC)	187.5	205.25 [150]	(CBC)	$3.75m.
						20	(CTV)	
1988	W	Calgary	309	(ABC)	82 p*	120 p*	(CTV)	$4.5 m.
	S	Seoul	300	(NBC)	180 p*	unavailable	(CBC)	

* planned

CBC's Sports Brief. "Most of the facts about sports on television are clear, indisputable and non-controversial. Sports telecasts are popular, remunerative and not very expensive" (CBC, 1978:11).

In the relationships among sport, television and advertisers/sponsors a sport generally benefited through increased exposure and therefore greater audience appeal, including increased gate receipts, and it also increased a sport's revenue. The improved financial health of a league or team also benefited its athletes. The exposure of sport through television coverage increased people's awareness of the various sports available and in some cases increased the growth and interest in a particular sport, for example, gymnastics, figure skating, tennis and skiing (Chercover, 1982). "Not only has television not hurt sport but it has created an interest in sport beyond its wildest dreams. . . . I've seen more and more sport on television become more and more popular" (Bassett, 1982:11). Sport coverage on television also made participants out of people who were formerly only spectators. The exposure of sport on television contributed to a growing sense of fitness and consciousness of one's own health (Chercover, 1982). The devoted television sports enthusiasts have developed a better understanding of sport thanks to television techniques enabling viewers to learn more about the technical aspects of a sport and how it was played. Viewers were more knowledgeable because they were shown slow motion replays from three different angles and told by colour commentators exactly what happened so they knew how someone scored (Esaw, 1981).

Many individuals interviewed felt that exposure on television was far more important than almost anything--including money--for amateur sport. "If you were to start trying to equate what it's worth in terms of commercial time and let's face it, if you're on television that's what you've got, a commercial for your sport, so if you are trading in a few dollars against a lot of exposure, that is very short sighted" (Hudson, 1984:10). Hudson believed that the best thing that could happen in amateur sport was that the sport did not need any money for rights at all but got as much television exposure as possible. Television provided many sport associations with the opportunity for their sports to obtain exposure and recognition across the country. This recognition could then lead to financial support from the networks and/or interested advertisers/sponsors. For example, the Canadian Figure Skating Association signed a multiyear contract with CTV in the early 1980s for a million dollars, the first amateur sport contract in Canada that made the million dollar mark. The amateur sport groups that recognized the value of television for both exposure and eventually some financial rewards, cooperated with television and realized financial rewards as exposure was gradually built (Craig, 1984). The importance of television to sport was best seen when looking at the amateur sport associations in Canada; the ones which had a fairly solid financial base were the ones which were able to get television coverage of their sporting events.

A sport's exposure on television also encouraged people to attend games which increased a sport's gate receipts. This was true for the Toronto Blue Jays in baseball; "Attendance goes up year after year and we're putting more television on the market. As you do that, it seems to me, at least, that there's got to be some correlation about it being a marketing tool" (Beaston, 1985:22). When the Blue Jays first started, 80% of the revenue came from selling tickets at the box office; money was not big in those days. The team's first television contract was worth $800,000 and over a four year period to the end of 1980 it went to $850,000, to $900,000 and then to $1 million. By then gate receipts accounted for less than 50% of the revenue, television represented close to 40% of the team's total revenue and radio the remainder. Although the gate receipts accounted for less revenue the Blue Jays still drew 2.3 or 2.4 million people. Beaston looked at television as a marketing tool and needed it for two reasons: to promote the live gate and to get revenue from it (Beaston, 1985).

Both hockey and football in Canada were considered gate receipt sports but television rights were still very important. The CFL was in a unique position as the only professional league in Canada which consisted of only Canadian teams. The development of the relationships between the CFL and the networks has been documented in earlier chapters; the television rights for the last three decades are listed in Table 11. In the 1950s the clubs viewed the television revenue as surplus revenue, or "manna from heaven." By 1960 they realized that if they did not have the television revenue they would be operating in a deficit position. Canadian football had always been, collectively speaking, a break even proposition. The clubs virtually spent all their earned surplus in an attempt to improve the product. Therefore television revenue from about 1960 on became an integral part of revenue to the clubs (Gaudaur, 1980:9). But television revenues evolved very slowly, something Gaudaur attributed to the clubs' reluctance to schedule their games at times more attractive to the advertisers. The television rights were a source of conflict between the Canadian professional football teams, particularly before 1968 when the CFL was officially formed. Before that time, the Big Four and WIFU negotiated with the networks separately for television rights. The Big Four obtained more money for its rights, and the western teams wanted a share of it. Once the league and its constitution was established the Commissioner was asked to handle the negotiations with the television networks and a phasing-in (sharing) arrangement was put into place. Finally, in 1978, the television revenue was split equally nine ways; it had taken ten years to complete the phasing-in arrangement. The significant increase in the television revenue which occurred between 1977 and 1978 was due to a new rights contract spanning three years with the CBC.

Until 1981 the CFL television rights were purchased by either the CBC or CTV networks. Television was viewed by the CFL and the clubs as a source of revenue and promotion for the sport but it was felt by some owners, who looked at the NFL as its model, that television had not really contributed that much towards the gate receipts or the league in terms of dollars (Gaudaur, 1980). In 1981, during another battle in the Brewery War, Carling O'Keefe radically altered that view by outbidding Labatt and paid $15.6 million for a three year contract for the CFL's television rights; so from the end of the CBC's three year contract for $6 million in 1980 the rights jumped $9.6 million dollars. "That meant a capital injection of $300,000/club. It makes the difference to some clubs of either making a profit or loss. The money makes a big difference" (DeGroote, 1980:1). An even larger increase occurred in 1984 when Carling O'Keefe paid $33 million for three years for the CFL's television rights. During the approximately thirty years that Canadian football was on television there was a steady increase in the value of the television rights paid by one of the two Canadian networks. In 1981 there was a dramatic increase in the rights when there was a shift away from a network's purchasing the CFL's football rights to a sponsor/advertiser, Carling O'Keefe, buying the rights. The CFL was just one of the sport properties used in the Brewery War.

Television rights paid in baseball and hockey were paid to each individual club; generally the amounts were not made public information. Hence a detailed table like the one for the CFL could not be compiled. The

TABLE 11 Canadian Football League Television Rights# (in Canadian Dollars)

Year	Eastern Conference	CFL Total*	Western Conference	Grey Cup	Total
1954	200,000				
1955					
1956				30,000	
1957	950,000			30,000	
1958			70,000	30,000	
1959	325,000		100,000		
1960	350,000		160,000		
1961	375,000				
1962	375,000		200,000	175,000	750,000
1963	380,000	— —	200,000	155,000	735,000
1964	401,000		206,000	165,000	772,000
1965	475,000		270,000	175,000	920,000
1966	475,000		250,000	178,250	903,250
1967	475,000		255,000	186,000	978,000
1968 *	475,000	[785,000]	310,000	193,000	978,000
1969	500,000	[810,000]	310,000	199,000	1,009,000
1970	512,500	[822,500]	310,000	205,000	1,027,500
1971	542,500	[872,500]	330,000	212,000	1,084,500
1972	570,000	[925,000]	355,000	220,000	1,145,000
1973	600,000	[975,000]	375,000	225,000	1,200,000
1974	700,000	[1,155,200]	455,100	245,100	1,400,300
1975	714,150	[1,215,150]	471,000	245,100	1,430,250
1976	749,857	[1,244,407]	494,550	257,355	1,501,762
1977	787,350	[1,306,627]	519,277	270,223	1,576,850
1978		[1,728,930]		310,756	2,039,086
1979		[1,728,930]		310,756	2,039,086
1980		[1,728,930]		310,756	2,039,086
1981-83		[15,600,000]			

# Compiled from information in the 1972, 1974, 1976 CFL Commissioner's Annual Report, Watkins' dissertation on "Professional Team Sports and Competition Policy: A Case Study of the Canadian Football League" and selected newspaper articles.

* In 1968 the CFL Commissioner was asked to handle all sales of television rights on behalf of the league. The amount in the bracket [ ] is the actual total received by the CFL which was divided amongst the teams.

analysis of either baseball or hockey was limited in its value because the lack of data made it impossible to compare sports. In addition caution should be applied in reading the following statistics as they were based on unsubstantiated sport reports and interviewees' recall. Hockey was considered by individuals in the NHL to be a gate receipt sport which consistently filled between 83 and 84% of arena capacity (Nixon, 1984). However, television was still very important to the sport. "Any institution in sports can use the additional income as provided by television because they can't make their buildings any bigger. And if television can be an extension of the arena, then there is a use for it" (Nixon, 1984:15). As stated previously each individual team in Canada during the three decades negotiated its own television rights package with MacLaren-CSN which purchased the rights for the sponsors of "Hockey Night in Canada." Brace (1985) recalled that he had the responsibility to negotiate the contract between Molson and the Canadiens in 1965 (the rights cost $475,000 for a three year span). In 1971 "Hockey Night In Canada" appeared on both networks and the total package including rights and production for all of the Canadian teams cost less than $10 million; by 1980 Molson's hockey package for rights alone cost $20 million a year.

Television revenue has clearly changed and improved the financial situations for both CFL football and hockey teams and has also benefited professional athletes. Like professional sport in general, athletes benefited from the exposure on television and the revenues. Television made the athlete a more recognizable personality and helped make the athlete more money. As a result of the wider recognition, some athletes negotiated lucrative personal advertising contracts. Additionally, the athlete grew more aware of the television revenue that his team and/or league received and took that into consideration when bargaining for a new contract. He knew that the revenue was there and began demanding his share of it. Players' salaries have changed substantially: in 1946-47 Toe Blake was the highest paid player in the NHL at $7,500 a year; when Rocket Richard retired in 1960, eight years after television had started in Canada, his salary was the highest in the league at $25,000; and "today you can't sign an amateur draft choice for $25,000. Television has generated enormous revenue for the owners and the players, quite rightly, are reaping a share of it" (Selke, 1980:3). To demonstrate the changes in players' salaries over the years the average salaries in professional hockey and baseball the following table of comparison (Table 12) has been included.

TABLE 12 Average Salaries in Professional Hockey and Baseball#

Sport	1967	1972	1977-78	1981
NHL	$19,133	$44,109	$96,000	$103,000
Baseball	$19,000	$34,092	$76,349	$185,651

#The data is modified from a table on "Average Salaries in Professional Basketball, Hockey, Baseball, and Football--1967, 1972, 1977-78, and 1981" in A Sociological Perspective of Sport (Leonard, 1984:257).

A salary escalation occurred in all professional sports whenever a new league made its debut and raided top athletes from the established league in order to attract gate receipts and media coverage. This pattern occurred in the NHL in 1972-73 when the WHA bid for players and the average salary rose to an estimated $40,000 from $24,000 a year in 1971-72. This average rose substantially in 1977-78 when the two leagues merged and a parity in salaries between the two leagues was sought. In comparison the average salary in baseball rose steadily in the ten years between 1967 and 1977 but took a dramatic leap in 1981, partly because of the major league baseball players' strike, but mostly because of the Brewery War in Canada. ". . . the impetus for the increase in revenues seems to come from Canada . . . Carling O'Keefe and Labatt Breweries have successfully bid for the dominion's major-league baseball teams, the Expos and Blue Jays, respectively" (Leonard, 1984:303).

Both sport and athletes have benefited tremendously as a consequence of the relationships among sport, television and advertisers/sponsors, as have the other partners. The examination of paybacks to sport, television and advertisers/sponsors showed the importance of their relationships with one another. All have benefited in some way, mainly financial or through increased awareness and exposure. It was difficult to ascertain if one partner was more important than another or one more dependent than another. A symbiotic relationship was defined as a mutually interdependent relationship and if one examined only the paybacks to the respective partners then the relationship among sport, television and advertisers/sponsors was symbiotic in nature. In the following conclusions all the dimensions were taken into consideration in determining the nature of relationships among the triumvirate.

G. Conclusion

In this chapter the nature of the relationships among sport, television and advertisers/sponsors which have existed and developed over the last three decades was examined. Some writers have referred to the interplay between two of the partners, sport and television, as symbiotic in nature;

symbiosis has been defined as "the association or living together of two unlike organisms in a relationship that benefits each of them" (Gage, 1983:1140). Most of the individuals interviewed were not familiar with the term "symbiosis" and referred to the relationships among sport, television and advertisers/sponsors as either interdependent, mutually co-operative or mutually supportive. An interdependent relationship was basically one where the partners relied on each other for support while a mutually co-operative relationship was one in which the partners had the same attitude to working together toward a common end or mutual economic benefit (Funk and Wagnalls, 1980). There were similarities and differences among the terms used to describe the relationships so caution was taken in how the terms were used. Most of the individuals interviewed felt that a variety of types of interdependency have developed over the last three decades among sport, television and advertisers/sponsors and the degree of the interdependency was usually related to the importance of revenue and revenue sources to the partners. There was also some disagreement as to whether or not one partner was more important or dominant in the relationships than another.

To fully comprehend the nature of the relationships among the triumvirate four dimensions (programming, role of the sponsor/advertiser, changes in sport and television, and paybacks) were considered. A key factor to consider in the programming area was the Broadcasting Act of 1968's Canadian content requirements. The CBC had to fill 60% of its programming with Canadian fare, while CTV and private stations had to fill 50%. The high content requirements made sport all the more attractive to the networks. Sport programming provided a large percentage (approximately 25%) of the total Canadian content to the overall network programming. Sport programming was popular, attracted large audiences and, therefore, attracted advertisers/sponsors who were willing to pay large amounts of money for the opportunity to have their product(s) associated with sport programs. The revenue collected from sport programming (13% of the total network programming) contributed 40% to the CBC's total budget. Thus sport programming (and the advertisers/sponsors who supported those programs) was clearly beneficial to the networks in their overall operation.

Advertisers/sponsors have played an important role throughout the history of Canadian broadcasting. Initially sponsors were a very important source of network programming in the 1950s and early 1960s since the sponsors bought programs from American and/or Canadian sources and then bought "time" on the networks. As production costs and the prices for television rights rose in the 1960s it was no longer feasible for one sponsor to "sponsor" a particular program. The sponsor's role changed to that of one of many advertisers paying for a single program. Advertisers/sponsors wanted to be involved with sport programming because it was popular with large numbers of viewers and it attracted audiences with the "right" demographics, i.e. males in the eighteen to forty nine age group. The main reason advertisers/sponsors supported sport was to sell their product, either directly or indirectly, and as cost effectively as possible. In the late 1970s and early 1980s the three Canadian breweries--Carling O'Keefe, Labatt and Molson--were involved in a Brewery War which has had a significant impact on sport and television in Canada. As the breweries engaged in bidding wars to purchase sport television rights, sport franchises and any kind of sport properties available, the price of these properties skyrocketed, resulting in more revenue for all types of sport and both television networks. People in the sport and television industry did not expect the high price buying to continue for much longer as most sport properties have been purchased.

However, the exorbitant amounts of money paid for sport rights made all parties involved wonder who would be able to pay those types of prices when the Brewery War ended. There was a concern about the false economy built around sport because of the increased revenue and whether or not sport would be able to adjust if some of that revenue was withdrawn.

A number of changes in both sport and television have already been brought about by the interplay between the partners. Over the three decades sport played an important role in sparking the development of many of television's technological advances and innovations. Sport provided an environment wherein producers, directors and cameramen could experiment and, at times, quickly improvise for "live" programs. Television, in return, caused sport to undergo assorted changes in rules, scheduling, uniforms, salaries and commercial times. Most sports were willing to make changes because they thought the changes were in their best interests; increased television revenue and improved public exposure were important motivators.

Many individuals interviewed felt that professional or Olympic sport would not survive without television revenue and exposure. It was the opinion of the researcher that this was not true. There could be sport without television. Sport existed before television and other media and if television should withdraw its support sport would surely continue to exist, albeit in another form. The modus operandi would change; players' salaries would be reduced; visibility across the nation would be reduced. Having adapted to the increased revenue from television, sport would have to readjust to deal with decreased revenues. It would be difficult but not impossible; expectations would have to change as would the relationships among sport, television and advertisers/sponsors change.

This examination has revealed that the interrelationship among sport, television and the sponsor/advertiser was originally interdependent or symbiotic in nature since all the partners were dissimilar and they worked together in relationships which benefited each other. Throughout the thirty years there has been a shifting in the levels of symbiosis among the triumvirate to points where at times the interrelationship bordered on dependency. But even at those points, there was still a type of interdependency among the three partners. When the relationships between a specific sport--professional hockey, baseball and Canadian football--were examined and all the dimensions were taken into consideration it was apparent that sport, television and advertisers/sponsors have developed an intimate and important relationship and a mutual dependency without destroying each other's distinct identity. It was concluded that sport, television and advertisers/sponsors have had and continued to have an interdependent relationship which was symbiotic in nature. How long this interdependency lasts remains to be seen and to be examined at a later date.

CHAPTER VI

SUMMARY AND RECOMMENDATIONS

The social phenomenon labelled as "sport" is a complex, contextual interplay of factors which is more complicated and delicate than those found in ". . . economic or even econometric treatises" (Levi-Strauss, 1964:587). It is an area of human endeavor that has attracted the attention of people in every walk of life and in most countries of the world. And attention to it seems to be increasing exponentially. A concomitant rise in social and economic importance can be found in the field of television communication which has come to affect ". . . the totality of our lives, personal and social and political" (McLuhan, 1964:23). The impact of this medium was captured by Singer and Kaplan in their history of American broadcasting.

> Television has entertained and probably otherwise affected over a billion people on our planet. It is watched daily, often for hours on end, by human beings on every continent. The viewers belong to almost every age group and all but the most impoverished socioeconomic class. Regardless of sex, race, color, creed, most degrees of wealth, or age beyond infancy, almost anyone who lives in areas served by broadcasting can watch television (1976:1).

The question of how these two pervasive social and communication phenomena have interacted and interlinked over time implies an examination of relationships. This study, aimed at exploring the nature of the relationship(s) among sport, television and advertisers/sponsors, was comprised of a three-part structure: to document the historical developments of the interplay among sport (from a general and a selected sport-specific perspective), the two major Canadian television networks (the

CBC and CTV) and advertisers/sponsors (major ones such as Imperial Oil, Imperial Tobacco and the three Canadian breweries--Carling O'Keefe Breweries of Canada Limitied, Molson Breweries Limited of Canada, Labatt Brewing Company Limited); to examine the dynamic interplay and dimensions involved in this relationship from 1952 to 1982; and, finally, to determine whether these relationships were symbiotic in nature.

Only limited substantive research was conducted for the purpose of examining the relationship between television and sport until the 1970s when a series of articles and books began to appear based on American documentation (Johnson, 1971; Furst, 1972; Parente, 1974; Altheide and Snow, 1977; Amdur, 1978; Sugar, 1978). The primary impetus for these analytical forays was the pervasiveness of sport programs on television in that nation. Moreover, there appeared to be an interrelationship between the rise in popularity of football (of the NFL variety) and major international sport festivals, such as the Olympic Games, and the emergence of television as a mass medium for communication. Sport sociologists along with sport writers became curious about the effects of the parallel rise in popularity of sport and television. Scholars, like Parente (1974), who studied the relationship, concluded that it was symbiotic in nature--that these two essentially dissimilar entities enjoyed a mutual interdependency where both benefited from their interplay and both had become part of the advertising industry.

In order to examine and to assess the nature of the relationship two major methodologies were employed. Primary and secondary sources provided historical documentation on both phenomena. Government documents, annual reports of a range of organizations, the CBC, and Royal Commission Reports provided a substantive framework to which was added more information from numerous secondary sources including studies of sport and television by Johnson, Furst, Parente, Smith, Altheide and others. Richer, by far, as a data source for this study were the forty focused interviews conducted with leading Canadian authorities in telecommunication and sport. Content analysis of the primary and secondary sources was used to guide the interview inquiry and the responses of the interviewees based on their subjective recollection of their experiences in the evolution of the sport-television-advertiser/sponsor relationship added substance to the analysis.

A model which evolved from the study is one of comparing the relationship of the partners to a three-legged stool. Each leg must be strong and equally able to support the unit. When all three legs are even then there is a balanced, symbiotic, mutually co-operative relationship. When any one leg is longer, or shorter, than the rest, or all three are unequal then one or more of the partners is dominant in the relationship.

What can be concluded from the study completed? First, that the relationship among sport, television and advertisers/sponsors, while generally agreed by knowledgeable experts to have been of an interdependent nature or at least mutually co-operative or supportive, was dynamic. It changed with time and as a consequence of actions taken on the part of one or more of the three entities. Initially, sport gained in popularity by virtue of its exposure to a wider audience than could otherwise have been assembled in a stadium, an arena, or a baseball park. Sport gained financially--a result of improved gate receipts through enhanced spectator appeal and through the direct payments to sport clubs or associations in exchange for the rights to televise selected sport events. Sport also gained from a technical perspective. Television provided a vital new mechanism through which the assessment of athlete/team performance could be more competently carried out and the quality of play consequently enhanced. This, in itself, was a major benefit in that the quality of a performance was considered to have a positive correlation to spectator appeal. Hence the higher the quality of the product, the more the appeal to the spectator. Not only did sport gain from its association with television, but so did Canadians in general. Thanks to television and its space-age technology, Canadians were able to view sport events instanteously from any part of the world. This had the effect of "reducing" the size of the earth and provided a sharpened sociocultural perspective of Canada and Canadians through their self-image as a nation of sportsmen, particularly ice hockey players. Canadians have never quite been the same since the televised hockey series between Team Canada and Team U.S.S.R. in 1972.

There were costs involved with the benefits in the relationship for sport. As Parente (1974) and Lucas, Real and Mechikoff (1986) found in their studies, sport had to make changes and adaptations to meet the needs of television and advertisers/sponsors. Changes were found in schedules of games, scheduling of events, rules and regulations of the sport and sporting events, choices of "host" cities and the inclusion of time-outs. Most sports were willing to make changes because they thought the changes were in their best interests; increased television revenue and improved public exposure were important motivators. The findings concurred with Whannel's assessment of television and sport in Britain: "The importance of television coverage has in turn resulted in a whole series of transformations as sports try to ensure that their events are presented in forms suitable for television" (1986:138).

Television, too, gained substantive advantages from its relationship with sport and advertisers/sponsors. Sport provided one of the finest, if not the finest, live human drama available anywhere short of open warfare; it needed no script writers, no prompters, no artifical applause. A contest between well-matched athletes or teams, carefully prepared for the contest provided its own script, its own drama, its heroes and heroines, and a sub-culture following that ensured high rankings in the weekly polls. Television networks, particularly publicly funded ones like the CBC, garnered public support as a consequence of their televising of sport programs. Sport programming was important to both the CBC and CTV. Indeed, one could argue that the CTV might not have survived had it not been for sport. Without sport, especially football, the network would have had great difficulty meeting Canadian content requirements. In addition, a very large percentage of sport programming was Canadian and so offered both networks a relatively easy way to meet Canadian content requirements. Furthermore, sport provided CTV and the CBC with relatively cheap to produce but extremely popular programming. Sport was mostly live and that made for very exciting television; it attracted viewer loyalty and generated large audiences. Thus both networks were able to generate large audiences, which in turn attracted advertisers/sponsors and their money. Technically speaking sport played an important role in the creation of new technical advances in television by providing a field wherein producers, directors and cameramen could experiment. The interplay between sport and television led to numerous changes. For example, instant replays were developed largely to give viewers a second look at goals and key plays. Smaller and more sophisticated lightweight cameras were developed to better cover sport events; and the development of electronic equipment such as the "telestrator" to illustrate the movement on the field for viewers was a sport-linked invention.

The third party in the triumvirate, the advertisers/sponsors, also benefited from its relationship with sport and television. This group initially purchased programs of American origin and "sponsored" Canadian programs and then purchased time on the embryonic television network over which the program flowed to the consumer. The sponsors (often working singly) were a vital part of network programming in the 1950s and into the early 1960s; the growth and extension of television across Canada was fueled by sponsor/advertiser money. The ubiquitous "Hockey Night in Canada" was an example of this format. With escalating costs of production and the rising price tags on the rights to televise sport events the one sponsor-one program format changed to the multi-advertisers sponsorship of sport events. There were a number of reasons why advertisers/sponsors selected sport programs as vehicles for their message: sport programs attracted large audiences; and there was the prestige value in advertising on certain sport telecasts or being associated with a particular sport team and/or event. Though advertisers/sponsors would certainly exist independently of sport and television (as long as there is business there will be advertising), they have definitely benefited from the association. With their large audiences, sport programs offered advertisers/sponsors effective wide reaching vehicles for their messages. In addition, a certain prestige accrued to advertisers/sponsors of sporting events or teams, a prestige which tobacco companies and breweries found particularly helpful in shedding some of the unhealthiness surrounding their images and in gaining the public's esteem. Moreover, sport programming enabled the tobacco companies and breweries to reach audiences with the "right" demographics--males eighteen to thirty four years old. Traditionally in Canada the major advertisers/sponsors which used sport as a vehicle to reach their audience were the oil companies, tobacco companies and breweries. The advertisers/sponsors brought increased revenues to television and to sport but, over the years, have been criticized for disrupting the course of the game or sporting event with the inclusion (or intrusion) of the advertiser's/sponsor's commercial message.

Sport, television and the advertiser/sponsor formed relationships among each other which appear both symbiotic and self-perpetuating. Television needed the advertiser/sponsor to provide money to purchase programming, the advertiser/sponsor needed a vehicle to sell its product and sport needed revenue and exposure to improve its current quality and the standard of living it could offer its officials and athletes. Thus all three partners have benefited in some way, either financially or from increased awareness and exposure. It was difficult to ascertain if one partner was more important than another, or one more dependent than another. Lucas, Real and Mechikoff (1986) in their study of the Olympics and American television concluded that the Olympics were not dependent on television, each partner maintained a distinct identity and that there was a symbiotic relationship between the two. Alaszkiewicz (1986) in his study of the Olympics and American television used Pfeffer and Salancik's ten-point dependency model to conclude that the relationship between the Olympics and television remained symbiotic since "the output for one is the input for the other" (1986:149) but it was an unbalanced symbiotic relationship which involved extensive unilateral dependence of the Olympic system on television's financial resources. Alaszkiewicz's theory suggested that dependence, power, influence and change were interdependent.

In this study, if only the benefits or paybacks were examined then the relationship among sport, television and advertisers/sponsors was definitely symbiotic. But during the course of this study other dimensions were taken into consideration in determining the nature of the relationships among the triumvirate. This study found that in order for a sport to become extremely successful, a symbiosis had to occur between it, television and the advertiser/sponsor--all the legs in the stool in the model were even and balanced. Sports unable to attract large audiences (soccer, for example) received scant television coverage. This study also found that while all three partners benefited most from a balanced symbiosis, the relationships among the three were often unbalanced. Throughout the first thirty years of Canadian television the levels of interdependency among the triumvirate have shifted, with each partner becoming more dominant at different times.

The future of the relationships is unclear. Sport would likely continue to alter rules and its format to meet the changing demands of television and the advertisers/sponsors. It could elect the option of refusing to sell its rights to control its own destiny but by selecting that option it was selecting a change of major proportion. Without the fiscal support of television rights modern professional sport could not continue as it presently existed. Professional sport, especially football and baseball, has grown dependent on television revenues and so is unlikely to opt out of the triumvirate. Television, for its part, almost certainly had to fall into line with the demands of the advertisers/sponsors; even the government-subsidized CBC could not afford the luxury of "splendid isolation." The CBC and CTV still need to fulfill Canadian content requirements and to attract advertisers with popular, but relatively inexpensive programs. However, television executives have started to realize that the advertisers/sponsors also needed television. It was not very cost effective for advertisers/sponsors to spend millions of dollars on purchasing sport television rights if there was not a television network to televise the sport or sporting event. As for the advertisers/sponsors, they will continue to sell their products via televised sports so long as sport continues to draw large audiences with the right demographics.

When the relationship(s) between sport in general and specific sports--professional hockey, baseball and Canadian football--were examined and all the dimensions and interplay were taken into consideration it was apparent that sport, television and advertisers/sponsors have developed an intimate and important interdependent relationship without destroying each other's distinct identity over thirty years. It was concluded that sport, television and advertisers/sponsors in Canada have had an interdependent relationship which was symbiotic in nature. However, with the events which have occurred in the 1980s among sport, television and advertisers/sponsors the future of the relationship is unclear; a new structure is evolving and it may result in an unbalanced symbiotic association.

Recommendations

Since this dissertation was one of the first studies to examine the development of the interrelationship between sport and television in Canada there are a number of recommendations for future research. The recommendations listed below are more general in nature and for every one of those there are at least two to four more specific ones which could be recommended.

1. That studies with further delimitations in terms of time-periods be conducted. There are natural landmarks in the history of sport and television in Canada and an in-depth study of each era, for example, the 1950s, would provide answers to a number of questions with regard to the overall

development of sport and television.

2. That studies of the interrelationships between specific sports or teams and television be conducted. The dynamics and interplay involved between one professional sport, for example hockey, and television is quite different than those involved between another sport, the CFL, and television. Studying a specific sport or in some cases a particular team, such as the Toronto Blue Jays, would provide a better understanding, knowledge and insight of the organizations involved and the dynamics involved between them.

3. That a history of CTV Sports be compiled. There is a great deal of documentation concerning the CBC and information about sport on the CBC is also available. However, for a number of reasons this is not the case with the CTV network and its sport programming. CTV has played an important role in the development of sport and television in Canada and its history would be a valuable addition to the existing level of knowledge.

4. That an in-depth examination of some of the major sponsors of sport and television in Canada, for example, Imperial Oil, the three Canadian breweries and/or Imperial Tobacco, be conducted. Sponsors have played and continue to play such a crucial role in the development of sport and television in this country that an in-depth study of each major sponsor or a group of sponsors would provide answers to a number of questions with regard to the overall development of sport and television and also a possible insight into the future developments.

5. That studies of the relationships among sport, television and the advertisers/sponsors using theoretical models or frameworks be conducted. Very few, if any, studies of sport and television prior to 1985 used any type of theoretical framework as its base and most of the studies were

descriptive in nature. In his master's thesis Alaszkiewicz (1986) used Pfeffer and Salancik's ten-point dependency model to determine the degree of dependency of the Olympics on television revenue. Application of this model to a specific team or league would provide answers as to the type of relationship which has existed and currently exists.

6. That a study of the coverage of women and sport on television and the role of women in sport on television be researched. Very little has been written about women's sport on television and women and the sports media.

7. That a study of other dimensions which are involved in the relationships between sport, television and the advertisers/sponsors be investigated. Only four dimensions--programming, sponsors/advertisers, changes and paybacks--were examined in this study and there are more to be examined; for example, the role and influence of the United States networks, and the development and role of the sportscaster.

8. That a study of the role and influence of MacLaren Advertising-CSN in the development of sport and television in Canada be conducted. No other advertising agency has made such an impact on Canadian television and Canadians as MacLaren-CSN has in the area of sport programming. An in-depth study would not only provide answers to questions pertaining to the overall development of sport and television in Canada but it would be a valuable addition to the existing level of knowledge about the area.

9. That a study of the role of Canadian sport and television on Canadian unity be researched. John Bassett, a member of Canada's media elite, believes it has played an important role. An examination would provide both answers and insight into the role and influence of sport and television in Canada.

10. That a study of the positive and negative outcomes of the relationships among the three partners be conducted. An examination of what

actually happened--both good and bad--to each partner as a result of being involved with the others would provide both answers and insight into both the partners and their relationships.

11. That studies of violence and televised sport in Canada be conducted. Current research examines violence on television but does not specifically deal with violence in sport on television or violence in a specific sport on television. Since this is an area of controversy and concern in-depth investigations would provide both insights into the problems and recommendations for future action.

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Daily Star, selected articles 1961 to 1970.

Edmonton Journal, June 11, 1966.

Financial Post, selected articles 1977 to 1984.

Globe and Mail, selected articles 1959 to 1984.

Guardian, November 29, 1977.

Montreal Gazette, June 21, 1980; December 24, 1982.

New York Times, September 28, 1979; February 24, 1980.

New York Times Magazine, December 25, 1955.

Star Weekly Magazine, selected articles 1958 to 1980.

Sunday Star, May 28, 1978.

The City, June 10, 1979.

Toronto Telegram, selected articles 1962 to 1969.

Toronto Star, selected articles 1966 to 1982.

TV Guide, April 21, 1979.

Weekend Magazine, April 1, 1967; February 3, 1973.

PERSONAL INTERVIEWS

Name	Date	Position held when interviewed
Afaganis, Ernie	November, 1979	Sportscaster, CBC
Bassett Sr., John	April 14, 1982	President Baton Broadcasting
Beaston, Paul	May 7, 1985	Executive Vice President Business, Toronto Blue Jays Baseball Club
Berube, Jacques	May 9, 1985	Producer, CBC French Network
Bourne, Bill	January 16, 1984	Marketing Manager, Carling O'Keefe Breweries of Canada Limited
Brace, Hollis	March 22, 1985	Senior Vice President Business Development, Molson Breweries Limited of Canada
Craig, Gordon	January 11, 1984	President, TSN
Chercover, Murray	February 9, 1982	President and Managing Director, CTV Television Network Ltd.
Chevrier, Don	December 8, 1980	Sportscaster, CBC
DeGroote, Mike	December 2, 1980	Former owner, Hamilton Tiger Cats
Esaw, John	October, 1979; September 22, 1981	Vice President Sports, CTV Television Network Ltd.
Fisher, Douglas	May 8, 1985	Politican, sports writer
Fry, Bill	December 3, 1980	Director of Officiating, CFL
Gaudaur, Jake	December 3, 1980	Commissioner CFL
Giguere, Yvon	May 9, 1985	Head of Sports Radio and Television, CBC French Network

Goodwin, Don	April 15, 1982	Former Head of Sports, CBC English Network
Herrndorf, Peter	April 16, 1982	Vice President and General Manager, CBC Television Network
Horler, Hugh	August 25, 1984	Retired President, MacLaren Advertising
Hough, Ted	April 15, 1982	President, CSN
Houston, Stan	January 17, 1984	President, Houston Group
Hudson, John	December 9, 1980; January 12, 1984	Director of National Promotions and Media Properties, Labatt Brewing Company Limited
Irvin, Dick	February 3, 1982	Sportscaster, "Hockey Night in Canada"
Jones, Fred	July 29, 1980	Technician, CBC Network
MacPherson, Don	April 1, 1985	Head of Television Network Sports, CBC English Network
Mellanby, Ralph	November, 1979; September, 1982	Executive Producer, "Hockey Night in Canada"
Mitchell, Doug	May 10, 1985	Commissioner, CFL
Molson, Senator H.	May 11, 1984	Retired Chairman of the Board, Molson Breweries Limited of Canada
Morrison, Scotty	April 17, 1982	Head of Officials, NHL
Nixon, Joel	August 21, 1984	Vice President, NHL
O'Neill, Dennis	November, 1979	Manager of Distribution, Export Sales Department, CBC Network

Retzlaff, George	December 8, 1980	Former Head of Sports, CBC English Network
Reynolds, Ted	July 28, 1980	Sportscaster, CBC
Selke Jr., Frank	December 5, 1980	Vice President--Director of Marketing and Production, CSN
Sheehan, Bill	December 4, 1980	Assistant Head of Sports, CBC English Network (Deceased).
Thompson, Jim	January 16, 1984	Executive Producer Sports, CBC English Network
Twaits, Don	August 26, 1984	Retired Advertising Manager, Imperial Oil
Wert, Glenn	February 9, 1982	Director of Research, CTV Television Network

APPENDIX

GENERAL INTERVIEW GUIDE

1. Preamble about study.

2. What is the background, history of your involvement in television and/or sport?

3. Questions relating specifically to person's area of expertise. For example:

a. What was coverage of sport like in those days? [then questions pertaining to number of cameras, their positions, sports covered, CBC's (CTV's) mandate at that time, difference between French and English productions of sport]

b. What do you take into consideration as to what sports are shown or what sports CTV (CBC) will cover?

c. This is an historical thesis and its looking at how television got involved in sport in the 1950s to the 1980s. I don't know very much about what happened in the 1960s; how would you describe the 1960s in regard to sports' coverage on television? . . . How would you describe the 1970s--what was going on in the 1970s?

d. How much say did McLaren have in the production of hockey? Has there been a change over the years?

e. Did you actually feel that Canadians wanted Canadianization of American programs or was it a sense of responsibility?

f. In the 1950s and 1960s did the advertising agencies really run the networks? When did the networks start doing their own production?

g. Why did companies like Imperial Oil and General Motors get involved in hockey and different sports?

h. Why is there such a difference between the production of hockey and CFL football?

i. Have you changed your approach in the coverage of hockey over the years?

j. When did the networks start using colour commentators? Why? What do you take into consideration when you considering an analyst?

k. How has the money affected players?

4. Over the years you have been involved, what kind of changes have you seen in sport due to television and also in television due to sport?

a. What kind of changes have been made in [sport] for television?

b. What kind of changes have been made in television because of sport?

5. Different people have said that sport has been an innovator in television technology--what do you think?

a. What changes were happening in television for the better coverage of sport? Let's talk about some of the technical changes. . . . Instant replay?

b. Do you think that some of these technological changes or innovations were made because of sport or would they have happened anyway?

6. Do you think [sport] in Canada needs television? Why? In what ways?

7. Does television need [sport]? Why? In what ways?

8. What is the role of the advertiser or sponsor in [sport] and television?

a. How much say do the sponsors have about what is being produced or what is on? What is the sponsor's role?

9. How would you describe (term) the relationship between television and sport (baseball, football, hockey)? [or sport, television and sponsor/advertisers?] Did it start that way?

a. How would you define the relationship between television and sport (specifically your sport)? Is it a dependency? an interdependency? symbiotic?

b. Who benefits the most from the relationship?

10. What do you think is the most important thing about the relationship between sport and television in Canada?

11. Some sociologists have stated that sport has prostituted itself with regard to television. Do you think [sport] is prostituting itself?

12. If you were doing a doctoral dissertation on sport and television in Canada from 1952 to 1982 what would you talk about that I have not already asked you? What is involved in this relationship that I have not talked to you about?

a. If you were doing the study what would you be asking me if I was you?

13. If you were doing a study of sport and television in Canada from 1952 to 1982 what do you think is the most important thing about this development over the thirty years in Canada?

a. If you were doing a dissertation on sport and television in Canada are there some things that I have not asked you that you think should be covered? What do you think is important in looking at sport and television?

14. Who would you recommend that I talk to to find out more about what has happened?

SELECTION OF INTERVIEW SUBJECTS

The selection of interview subjects for this dissertation was a straight forward procedure. After completing a thorough review of the literature the investigator identified the organizations which had played key roles in the development of the relationships among sport, television and advertisers/sponsors: the CBC, CTV, CFL, NHL, CSN and Canadian major league baseball teams. The investigator then approached current and former high ranking officials in these organizations who had been identified as playing key roles in the development of the relationship, for example, John Hudson, Johnny Esaw, Jake Gaudaur and Ralph Mellanby. Individuals were selected who had held their positions during all or some of the years covered by this study. The objective was to speak to people who could provide the investigator with historical information and insights into the formation of the sport-television-advertiser/sponsor triumvirate and who could explain how the current philosophy underlying television sport programming developed. The majority of individuals contacted agreed to be interviewed. To obtain a broader perspective on these issues, the investigator decided to speak to some of the owners of these organizations and to non-executive employees (i.e sportscasters, colour commentators, technicians). Nearly every one of the interview subjects selected in turn referred the investigator to several other key individuals in their fields. In order to determine whether an interview with those referred was justified the investigator abided by the following rule: if an individual was recommended by two or more of his/her colleagues then that individual was added to the interview list and contacted. As a result of the recommendations made by the initial interview subjects the investigator spoke with officials from the major sponsors of televised sport: Canada's three major breweries--Molson, Labatt, and Carling O'Keefe; Imperial Oil; and the Houston Group which represented Imperial Tobacco and other sponsors. The investigator tried to interview as many of the recommended people who fell within the rule for decision noted above as possible but it was not always feasible to do so.

ACCESS TO DATA

The tapes and transcripts of the interviews are in the investigator's possession. If any interested scholars should want access to any of the interview material then they would have to consult the investigator, in that some of the tapes and transcripts are confidential in nature and can not be released without direct contact with the subject.